

## Blacks answer Reagan with King Day protest

'We will not let anyone turn us around'

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Braving record-breaking, sub-zero temperatures and heavy snowfall, nearly 10,000 people turned out here January 15 to protest growing attacks against Blacks and in support of legislation making Martin Luther King's birthday a national holiday.

Cosponsored by the well-known Black singer Stevie Wonder, the march was also a clear signal to the Reagan administration that despite all manner of racist attacks being leveled against the Black community, Blacks will not be intimidated.

Rev. Ben Chavis, co-coordinator of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), opened the rally with the following invocation:

"As we stand on the grounds of the Capitol of the United States of America, we know — we know, O God, what it's like to be Black in America. We know what it's like to be poor in America. We know what it's like to be hungry in America. And we come here today, O God, praying for thy spirit and thy strength to give us the courage to fight back the racism of Ronald Reagan. To fight back and to make Martin Luther King's birthday a national holiday.

"Our prayer is a prayer of struggle. Our prayer is a prayer of commitment. Our prayer is a fighting prayer."

The crowd roared its approval when he concluded, "We will not let anyone turn us around. We will fight until all of God's people are free — Amen."

This demonstration was held in the context of a stepped-up campaign of police violence and right-wing racist attacks against the Black community — and with an unemployment rate among Black workers officially estimated at 17.4 percent and among minority youth at 39.6 percent.

It comes right on the heels of the Reagan administration's recent decision to grant tax-exempt status to white supremacist schools that either ban Blacks altogether or ban any social intermingling between Black and white students.

### 'We want a holiday!'

In a challenge to this racist offensive, thousands in Washington, and thousands more in many cities across the country, were shouting defiantly, "We want a holiday!"

The demand was not just for any holiday, but for a holiday honoring Martin Luther King, the symbol to millions of Blacks of the massive civil rights movement of the sixties.

The demonstration was smaller than the march of 100,000 a year ago. March coordinators attributed this, at least partially, to the bad weather. For example, buses with a total of 15,000 seats were canceled at the last minute. Another factor was the large number of local activities that were held across the country.

However, at this action there was clearly a more militant tone than there was a year ago. This was reflected in the speeches and in the response of the crowd. An increased awareness existed for the need to organize and mobilize

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January 15 march to make Martin Luther King's birthday a national holiday was also a signal to Reagan that Blacks will not be intimidated by racist actions of his administration.

## Worst recession since 1930s: what can be done about it?

The United States economy is mired in the worst recession since the Great Depression of the 1930s. At one time a downturn of this scope and duration would have been called a "depression." But whatever it's called the effects on working people are devastating.

Almost 11 million workers, counting those who have given up looking for work, are out of a job. This is more than any number since 1939. The number

worse shape than any that have occurred in the past forty years.

Social measures won by workers in previous battles, which helped to cushion the shock of recessions, have been whittled down. There have been significant cuts in state and federal unemployment benefits. Supplementary union funds are drying up. Social Security and disability benefits have been attacked. Cuts in federal housing are driving up rents in federally-subsidized housing. Food stamp and school lunch programs have been slashed. The cost of public transportation is rising; and in many cities service has been drastically reduced.

Many workers are losing their homes. Others are seeing education plans for themselves or their children deferred or dashed. Automobiles are being repossessed.

The layoffs not only take away a worker's livelihood, they also undermine self-respect. One sign of how deepgoing the effects are is that auto workers, only a short while ago on the assembly line, are now lining up for hot meals at Salvation Army soup kitchens.

These conditions are made even worse by the steady rise in gas and electric rates, rent, taxes, interest on home and car loans, medical costs, and food prices. And the "antitrust" settlement engineered by the Reagan administration and AT&T will mean a big hike in phone rates.

In industry after industry the employers are using the threat of layoffs to

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## Workers in Poland still defy martial law

BY ERNEST HARSCH

More than one month after Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski's December 13 declaration of martial law, the Polish bureaucracy is still a long way from its often-repeated goal of returning the country to "normal."

It has succeeded in inflicting a severe blow against the working class and has put down most mass protest strikes and demonstrations. But it has not been able to silence criticism or stop the activities of clandestine workers committees, let alone win any significant base of support among the millions of supporters of the Solidarity union movement.

Poland's extreme economic crisis, moreover, gives the ruling bureaucracy very little room to maneuver. It is caught between the demands of the imperialist banks for repayment of Poland's \$28.5 billion foreign debt — a debt that is continually growing — and the expectations of a working class that has been radicalized by the deepest revolutionary upheaval in Polish history.

The authorities' only hope of achieving "normality" — that is, the safeguarding of their material privileges and their unquestioned power to make all key decisions — is to break Solidarity's influence among working people. That they have so far not been able to do.

### 'We are prisoners of war'

Deprived of any popular support within Polish society, the authorities have been compelled to rely on massive repression.

Since the declaration of martial law, the activities of the most representative organizations in the country have been outlawed, including those of Solidarity and Rural Solidarity, the farmers' organization. A few groups, like the Independent Student Association (NZS), have been banned entirely. Strict censorship has been imposed, and scores of periodicals have been shut down.

A Justice Ministry order established forty-seven internment camps around the country, into which thousands of trade unionists, students, writers, and political activists have been thrown. The authorities admit that nearly 6,000 persons have been detained without charges being brought against them, and that nearly 3,000 others have been arrested.

In addition, more than 30,000 persons have been summoned before special martial-law courts, including people picked up at demonstrations, for organizing or participating in strikes, or for being outside during the curfew.

One message smuggled out of the Białołęka internment camp, where many top Solidarity leaders are being held, complained about the repressive conditions there, including searches, restrictions on letters and visits from relatives, and lack of exercise.

"We are prisoners of war," it said, "and entitled to better treatment. We have been imprisoned despite our innocence. Our only guilt is our refusal to accept the war declared on our own nation by a gang of traitors."

There are many court cases taking place around the country, in which workers are being summarily tried and

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# Blacks answer Reagan at King Day march

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against the attacks coming down.

Among the speakers at the rally was Rev. Gerard Jean Juste, director of the Haitian Refugee Center Incorporated in Miami. Juste, a longtime fighter for Haitian refugee rights, characterized the Reagan administration's racist immigration policy toward Haitians as an attack against all Black and freedom loving people.

Juste described the conditions of the Haitian refugees imprisoned in detention camps set up by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. He then asserted, "The policies of President Reagan cause hopelessness, desperation, repression, and death for Black people and many other oppressed people. This is a policy of blind violence toward Black people and other people. Enough is enough. In the name of Doctor King, let's demand freedom."

## Jackson appeals for Black unity

Jesse Jackson, director of Operation PUSH appealed for the Black nation to unite and respond to the current attacks. "All over this nation our people are organizing a unified resistance campaign because it is 'nation time.' When our schools are closed it is 'nation time.' When Haitians are in concentration camps, Black boys are sent to war, white boys are sent to college — it is 'nation time.' So we are here today as a link in a national chain saying it is 'nation time.'"

Referring to the assassination of Martin Luther King in 1968, Jackson pointed out that "Doctor King's work is not complete. Therefore we cannot just gather one day a year to bring a petition to Congress. We must gather every day of every week of every month and fight until we get justice and get our share of respect in the American political order."

## 'We must organize our own vehicle'

In a direct attack on the Reagan administration, Jackson noted, "Today we gather at this Capitol, and not far from here there is a mean task master, a mean Pharaoh. But I urge you today, don't hold your head down because of the mean Pharaoh. We cannot ride to freedom on Pharaoh's chariot. We must organize our own vehicle. The reality is, if Democrats stand for welfare and Republicans stand for workfare, who stands for our share?"

"We must stand for our share. We must march to the beat of a different drummer. We cannot ride to freedom on Pharaoh's chariot."

Chavis, during his speech, drove this point home further. "I speak to you on

behalf of the national Black Independent Political Party, a mass-based, new political formation in the Black community attempting to provide alternative Black politics for Black people in America."

Explaining the NBIPP's support to legislation for a national holiday on Martin Luther King's birthday, Chavis said, "We support the call to make King's birthday a national holiday because we feel that Martin Luther King and other brothers and sisters like Marcus Garvey and Malcolm X and Harriet Tubman need holidays set aside. But in the Black community we should spend our time on holidays studying and reflecting, planning and strategizing so that we can move forward."

"The NBIPP is committed to the political organization and education of our people."

To signal the kind of fighting strategy the NBIPP favors, Chavis read from a piece written by Martin Luther King during King's imprisonment in Birmingham.

Chavis added, "We have waited for more than 400 years for our constitutional and God-given rights . . . we can't wait any longer."

## Future determined by what we do

"Let us be clear brothers and sisters," Chavis continued, "the future is in our own hands. The future of our people must not be determined by what Ronald Reagan does. The future of our people must not be determined by what the Congress of the United States does. The future of our people must be determined by what we do, through ourselves, to the extent that we struggle for our liberation and our freedom and justice throughout the world."

Referring to the Reagan administration's war drive, Chavis concluded, "And so we must understand that as we struggle for basic goods and services at a community level, it is part of a worldwide struggle to disarm the nuclear maniacs. The NBIPP is committed to organizing our people to achieve self-determination, to achieve justice for our own people and for all folks."

Other speakers present at the rally included Gil Scott Heron, who chaired the event; William Pollard, director of the AFL-CIO's Civil Rights Department; Theresa Cropper, a national coordinator of the march; Robert Garcia, New York state representative; and Michigan Congressman John Conyers. Conyers, co-author of the holiday bill, received a vigorous round of applause when he suggested that cutting the MX missile system would provide plenty of

money to pay for King's holiday, with billions left over.

The Washington march, which was overwhelmingly Black and young, included representation from various Black college fraternities, Local 1199 of the Hospital Workers Union, representatives of the international staff of the International Association of Machinists, and the National Office of Black Catholics.

In an indication of their high spirits, the protesters, after marching and standing for over six hours, began shouting and singing louder than at any time during the day when Stevie Wonder

er concluded by singing his well-known song, "Happy Birthday."

Other actions took place on the same day in many other cities. In Los Angeles 3,000 turned out. In Atlanta, 500; Philadelphia, 250; Birmingham, 300; Seaside, California, 250; Denver, 500; New York, 200; Newark, 200; Winston-Salem, 200; and St. Louis, 700.

As one young woman walked away from the Washington demonstration obviously satisfied, she was overheard commenting to her friend, "I really do want a holiday for Martin Luther King." Then after pausing for a moment, she said, "But I want a holiday for Malcolm X first."



NBIPP leader Rev. Ben Chavis addresses crowd at January 15 action.

## Black party sponsors forum on King

BY MELVIN CHAPPELL

WASHINGTON, D.C. — On the day following the march and rally to commemorate Martin Luther King, Jr., the local chapter of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) sponsored a forum on Dr. King. The event featured Reverend Ben Chavis and two films covering the period of the civil rights movement that King helped to lead.

Chavis said that Dr. King favored organizing and mobilizing the masses of Black people to fight for their rights. "If Martin was alive today, he would be disrupting this system," Chavis said. He said that King would not have tolerated the miserable treatment Haitian refugees are getting in detention camps in the United States.

Chavis also talked in length about the recent jailing of two Black women in Al-

abama for alleged voter-registration fraud. He called on the NBIPP to issue a statement to denounce this attack on the democratic rights of Black people, and explained that there is a need to organize a national response to the injustice. "We need a spring offensive, a fightback campaign!"

The chapter also set up a table during the January 15 demonstration serving hot drinks and selling NBIPP materials.

The local NBIPP chapter passed out a national NBIPP statement on why Blacks should have a national holiday on January 15. In part it read, "NBIPP believes that the most fitting tribute to Dr. King would be to reaffirm and dedicate our lives to continuing his legacy of uncompromising struggle for racial, economic and social justice; against war and militarism, and for peace."

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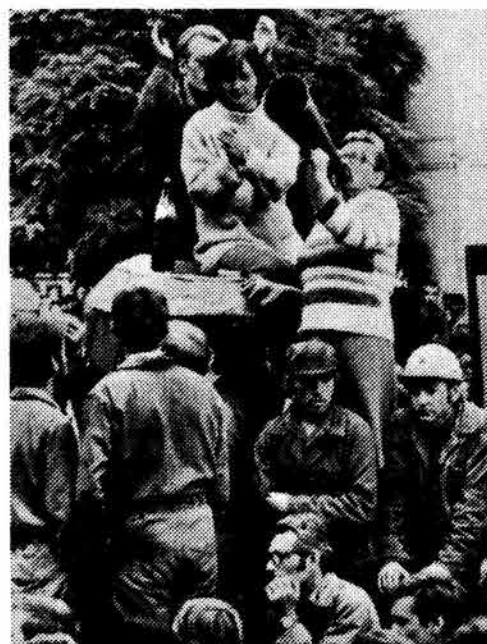
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# S. African exile Dennis Brutus fights deportation from U.S.

BY JON HILLSON

CHICAGO — A groundswell of public protest is needed to prevent Alexander Haig from putting an internationally renowned Black poet, currently in exile in the United States, at the mercy of South African hit squads.

The poet is Dennis Brutus, whom Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has been trying to deport since last September.

On January 14, Brutus's fight against deportation moved into a new stage when his lawyers filed notice in Immigration Court here that he intends to apply for political asylum in the United States.

Such requests are reviewed by the U.S. State Department, headed by Alexander Haig, which makes recommendations to the court.

And Brutus's sworn enemies, the South African racists who imprisoned, tortured, and banned him, are Washington's allies.

Born fifty-seven years ago in what was then called Rhodesia and is now Zimbabwe, Brutus was raised in South Africa.

He became an outspoken foe of apartheid, was ordered in 1961 by the white minority government not to speak out on political issues, and was jailed in 1963 in the notorious Robben Island prison — where Black freedom fighter Nelson Mandela has been held for more than two decades.

In 1965 Brutus was released and became an exile.

For the past ten years, Brutus has lived in the United States, teaching

most recently at Northwestern University in Chicago and now at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

He has become an internationally recognized leader of the struggle against the South African government, often through his powerful, moving poetry.

According to Gordon Winters, a former agent of the South African Bureau of State Security, in his book *Inside BOSS*, the apartheid government considers Brutus among the twenty most important enemies of the regime.

Brutus has twenty days to apply for political asylum, and the State Department has thirty days in which to give its opinion on the request to the court.

Picket lines supporting Brutus were held on January 14 in Minneapolis, Boston, Seattle, and Chicago, where the poet's defense committee held several events.

Twenty-six below zero weather did not deter supporters from attending a Militant Forum here on January 16, where Brutus reviewed his situation.

He linked his persecution by the U.S. government to efforts by Washington to strengthen its alliance with the South African racists.

The apartheid regime, he said, "functions as an instrument" for U.S. foreign policy, receiving "not just aid, but direction from outside."

Brutus's capacity to get the truth out about conditions in South Africa is a thorn in the side of this policy.

Thus, the Reagan administration has used the pretext of the expiration of Brutus's Zimbabwean passport as a cover to deport him.

But the Zimbabwe government's reorganization last year snarled his application for passport renewal in red tape, Brutus told the crowd.

"My struggle," he said, "is one segment of a broader struggle for workers [rights] of this country and all those who are victimized, including people like Héctor Marroquín," the Mexican-born Socialist Workers Party member currently fighting INS deportation efforts.

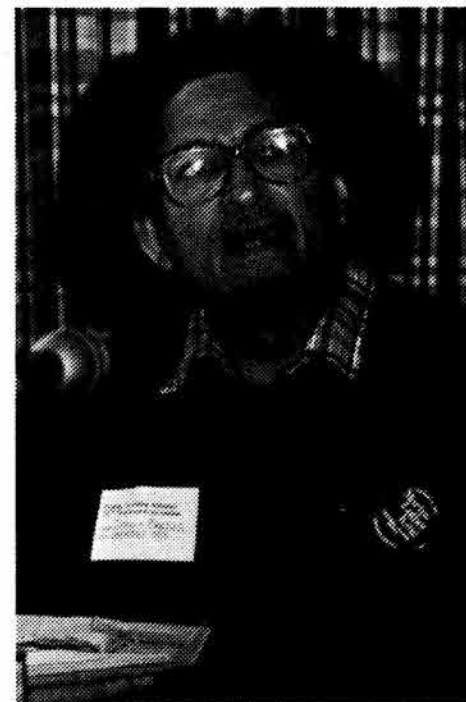
Brutus told the gathering that his potential deportation to Zimbabwe was dangerous. He cited South African terrorist attacks on the Mugabe government and the July 1981 assassination of Joe Gqabi, a Black South African freedom fighter with whom he had become friends while at Robben Island.

Brutus urged supporters to step up their activities against apartheid, to be "part of the larger resistance that will emerge."

Because, he said, "whatever happens to me, the South African freedom struggle will continue to a successful conclusion."

Telegrams and letters to the State Department supporting Brutus's right to asylum are urgently needed. Send copies urging a favorable State Department opinion to: Mahmoud and Associates, 53 W. Jackson, Suite 1264, Chicago, Illinois 60604.

An attractive multi-colored poster with a poem by Brutus can be purchased for \$3, the funds from which sustain the defense committee's work. Send \$3 (plus \$1 for postage and handling and 25¢ for each extra copy) to: Dennis Brutus Defense Committee, 336 River Drive, Hadley, Massachusetts 01035.



Dennis Brutus

Militant/Lou Howart

## Colombian socialist is kidnapped by paramilitary unit

The Colombian government has launched an attempt to frame up and victimize the Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR, Colombian section of the Fourth International).

Ricardo Sánchez, a central leader of the PSR, was kidnapped by heavily armed men in civilian clothes at 9:30 p.m. on January 14. He was released on January 17 after lengthy interrogations about the PSR's activities, and constant verbal threats of physical harm by his captors.

The government refused to acknowledge detaining Sánchez, but his capture had all the earmarks of an operation by the regime's armed forces. According to witnesses, the kidnappers arrived at Sánchez's apartment building in three army vehicles. They cordoned off the neighboring houses and allowed no one to enter or leave the area during the operation.

The paramilitary squad remained at Sánchez's apartment for six hours.

Some witnesses reported that Sánchez was taken to the Military Institutes Brigade (BIM), an army intelligence unit. One military spokesman later acknowledged that there had been a raid on Sánchez's home, but other officials denied this and asserted that Sánchez had "disappeared."

When PSR leaders reported Sánchez's kidnapping to the antikidnapping unit of the Colombian police, they were informed that no such capture had taken place, and that instead the police were investigating Sánchez in connection with the "kidnapping" of a woman student from the University of Colombia who was at Sánchez's apartment at the time of the raid.

The latter frame-up fell through when the woman and her parents totally rejected the cops' version and refused to cooperate with them.

The capture and interrogation of Ricardo Sánchez form part of a broader attack on the PSR by the Colombian regime. Several days before, the military prosecutors in the trial of members of the April 19 Movement (M-19), a guerrilla group, asserted in court that the PSR is the "legal arm" of the M-19.

The PSR and its supporters mobilized immediately to force the release of Sánchez. Leading defenders of human rights in Colombia, such as presidential candidate Gerardo Molina and Bogotá city council member Carlos Bula, accompanied PSR delegations to government offices to protest the kidnapping and demand guarantees of the PSR's legality and the safety of its leaders.

Telegrams and messages calling for a halt to the attacks on the PSR should be sent to President Julio César Turbay Ayala, Presidencia de la República, Palacio de Nariño, Carrera 8 #7-26, Bogotá, Colombia. Copies of messages should be sent to *Combate Socialista*, Apartado Aéreo 13750, Bogotá, Colombia.

From Intercontinental Press

## Reagan upholds draft registration



BY SUZANNE HAIG

The Reagan administration has taken another step in preparing for U.S. military intervention in other countries.

On January 7, Reagan announced that he would continue with draft registration — despite his campaign promises. He also asserted that after a short "grace" period, the Selective Service System would seek out and prosecute those eighteen-year-old males who have failed to register.

Penalties include fines up to \$10,000 and jail terms up to five years.

The action was immediately denounced by Young Socialist Alliance National Chairperson, Malik Miah, who called Reagan's decision a "further step in U.S. war moves in Central America and the Caribbean."

He linked the decision with the administration's announcement in December that "contingency plans" were being prepared for possible U.S. military action in Central America, and with the beginning of military training of 1,500 Salvadoran troops at Fort Bragg and Fort Benning this month.

The seriousness of Reagan's move was further underscored by the Selective Service System's announcement January 13 of plans to push forward registration and the prosecution of resisters.

More than 800,000 young men have refused to register, the lowest compliance rate in Selective Service history.

To counter this the government plans to use spot radio and television announcements about draft registration, buy mailing lists of draft age youth from direct mail companies, and send letters to college newspaper editors and high school principals asking them to publicize draft registration and pressure students to register.

In addition, a provision of the Defense Authorization Act, recently adopted quietly, now empowers the government to go through Internal Revenue Service and Social Security files to search for draft registration resisters.

This violation of civil liberties will not only be directed against draft-age youth, but can be used as a weapon to spy on anyone who disagrees with the government.

Despite statements to the contrary, Reagan took advantage of the anticommunist campaign generated in the media around the crackdown in Poland to make his announcement.

His action paralleled that of his predecessor, James Carter, who used the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan to initiate the drive to win draft

registration in January 1980.

Carter — like Reagan today — hoped the media campaign against "totalitarian" communism would help convince people to get over the "Vietnam syndrome" and go along with beefing up the government's preparations for war.

Carter's decision proved a fiasco, however, sparking protests across the country and the beginning of an antidraft movement.

Now, apparently, Reagan believes the Polish events have created a climate favorable for Washington to proceed along the course begun by Carter — toward reinstituting the draft.

Reagan claims that registration is not a step toward a draft. However, secret Senate testimony of NATO commander Bernard Rogers was conveniently released earlier this month arguing in favor of reinstituting the draft.

Rogers asserted that there will not be enough skilled troops in the event of war unless a peacetime draft is reinstituted. Reagan is claiming that registration is all that is necessary, as it would save the army six weeks mobilization time.

These discussions and orchestrated "debates" within the government are attempts to soften up the antiwar, antidraft sentiment of the American people, by shifting the axis off the question of whether there would be a draft, to when it should be reinstituted.

But Reagan already faces opposition to his war moves. Chanting "No draft, no war, U.S. out of El Salvador," protesters demonstrated in 100 cities on January 11 against the training of El Salvadoran troops in the U.S. They clearly saw that Reagan's registration decision was a step toward the draft and that it was linked to possible military intervention in the Caribbean and Central America.

Opponents of the draft will have another opportunity to protest at demonstrations in New York, Washington D.C., Los Angeles, and other cities on January 22, the International Day of Solidarity with the Salvadoran Revolution.



# Interviews with two Solidarity activists

## Workers reorganize to continue the struggle

BY SUZANNE HAIG

Solidarity members are reorganizing in Poland and drawing some important political conclusions following the December 13 military crackdown.

This is what emerges from interviews with two union members conducted in Poland by *New York Times* reporter, John Darnton.

Twenty-seven-year-old Zbigniew Bujak, a leader of the Warsaw branch of Solidarity who has escaped arrest, gave his first interview since martial law was imposed.

Conducted through a series of intermediaries to insure that Bujak's whereabouts remain a secret, the interview appeared in the January 16 *Times*.

Bujak believes that the union could not have avoided a confrontation with the government by acting differently.

"I know that many Western politicians believe that if we had been wiser we could have avoided this tragedy. But I also know that what they call wisdom for us meant collaboration with the state and party authorities — a collaboration that would have been directed against the workers, the intellectuals, the men of culture and the arts.

"We would have become another annex of the totalitarian system, creating only an impression of democracy. This must not be demanded of us or of our Solidarity union."

On the one hand, he said, Solidarity could have put its own survival ahead of the interests of the working class and union supporters. This would have meant giving up efforts for real change.

It did not do this. Instead, the union fought to realize the program its members had adopted at the September national congress, to democratize the country and institute major economic reforms.

The authorities, too, he continued, could either have adopted the reforms, or crushed the union. "From the moment they decided to defend their privileges," he said, "the confrontation could not be avoided."

A major lesson learned from the crackdown, Bujak says, is that the government never had any intention of granting major democratic, economic, or social reforms.

"Many people compared the construction of Solidarity to a revolution. But this revolution precluded the use of

force and kept the arrangement determining the Polish *raison d'etat* — alliances, economic cooperation, the leading role of the Polish United Workers [Communist] Party.

"It was supposed to allow the party and Government authorities to reform the system of rule in the country and find a new formula for the leading role of the party taking into account the social changes that were occurring.

"It is known, now, that nobody was thinking about such changes and reforms and that our hopes — that we would find even a token of good will on the other side — were illusory."

Bujak reports that he is now in contact with union activists from Gdansk, Wroclaw, Lodz, and other regions, and the union is reorganizing.

While encouraging passive resistance, Bujak explicitly opposes terrorist actions. "I do not exclude also that an armed underground might develop involved in terrorist activities. That would be a real disaster for our country. That is why I believe there should be no armed action in the current situation."

Instead, he is calling upon Solidarity activists to organize groups of ten people each, and for now to continue aiding those who have been dismissed from their jobs.

Bujak said that martial law "caught us all by surprise. The information we were receiving from the fall of 1980 on, about the prepared arrests of our activists and members, we simply did not believe." However, he reports that many regional chapters of Solidarity had taken precautions, hiding printing equipment, typewriters, paper, and money.

Now, he explains, the shock of martial law is wearing off, and spontaneous opposition is on the rise.

Bujak intends to remain in hiding, participating in the struggle for "the reactivation of our union," until it is won. "I will not leave the country, and I will not let myself be thrown out," he said.

Bujak expresses confidence in the future. "So it is struggle, struggle and yet more struggle," he told Darnton. "But our chances are much greater than in previous years, because from August 1980 this struggle was conducted in concert by all social groups."

A twenty-year-old worker, now a

courier for an underground movement on the Baltic coast involving several hundred people, gave an eyewitness account of the reaction in Gdansk to the crackdown. His group plans no open activities until spring.

On December 16, "the day of revenge against the working people," 20,000 people moved from the railroad station to the Lenin shipyards. "Shipyard workers, nuns, students. We all sang 'Rota' [an eighteenth century hymn]. Radio cars of Zomo [riot police] and militia ordered people to disperse and threatened them.

"People began raising national flags. They had portraits of Lech Walesa and Solidarity banners."

When shots were fired by police, the crowd charged, and Zomo fell back. The battle began. People threw stones and "picked up the [tear gas] canisters and threw them back at [Zomo]. There were shouts of 'Gestapo' and 'Murderers.'"

"A soldier was wounded by broken glass and . . . was crying out 'It's not

me. It's orders.'" Trucks were overturned and burned.

The battle went on the next day. Zomo had wrecked shops, blaming it on the crowd. "People from the crowd tried to protect the windows with planks. Everyone said, 'Don't touch anything, we have only one cause.' People were very excited by the devastation of the property and they attacked the Zomo with their own hands." Some police were dressed up as soldiers.

"The radio in Gdansk — that damned box — called it hooligan excesses. All we wanted was to help people who were misled by the Government. We're young, but we know what the situation is — all the food lines, the hunger, the breaking of the agreements that Solidarity wanted. The courts are Judas. What the TV says is rubbish.

"I'm very sorry my country has to be this way. But I've learned a lot of things over the past year. And I don't think I could ever extend my hand to a man in uniform."



Scene at Lenin shipyard, where workers resisted attack by militia and special riot police, called Zomo.

## The workers in Poland still defy martial law

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sentenced to prison terms, often without right of appeal. But in some of them, the defendants or their lawyers have been able to use the courtrooms to restate their support for Solidarity or to denounce the regime's actions.

### Austerity policy

Parallel to these attacks on democratic rights, the authorities are also preparing a major assault on workers' living standards. This is being justified on the grounds of Poland's extreme economic crisis — a crisis caused in the first place by the bureaucracy's gross economic mismanagement, particularly over the last decade.

Opposed to any involvement of workers in economic decision-making and unable to politically inspire them to produce more, the authorities are moving to impose a severe austerity policy. They hope that the repressive conditions of martial law will enable them to carry it out.

Already, Jaruzelski has ordered an extension of the workweek from five to six days. One decree provided for up to a week of compulsory labor for anyone between the ages of sixteen and sixty. The right to strike has been abolished. Although unemployment does not official-

ly exist, in practice it is growing, both through the closure of some enterprises and the firings of thousands of union activists.

Prices for some goods have been sharply increased. Other price hikes now being considered would be the greatest in three decades — between 400 and 500 percent for sugar, butter, cheese, pork chops, ham, and beef. At the same time, supplies of even these basic food items are extremely scarce.

These are the kinds of policies the Western banks have been pressing the Polish government to adopt for some time. They want the Polish workers to bear the costs of repaying the loans.

### Regime's isolation

The official Polish press tries to present an image of popular relief over the imposition of martial law. But there are few concrete indications of that.

Despite all the regime's efforts to break the unity of the Solidarity leadership, and to pressure at least some prominent union figures into open collaboration with the authorities, they have not succeeded. In fact, on January 13 Solidarity's Poznan regional chairman Zdzislaw Rozwalak publicly repudiated a statement of support for martial law he had earlier been compelled to

sign, stating that it had been "made under duress."

Prominent intellectuals, despite the threat of arrest, have been circulating protest statements denouncing the "military dictatorship."

Under the pressure of the workers, Catholic church officials, such as Archbishop Jozef Glemp, have been more openly critical of Jaruzelski's crackdown, specifically demanding the lifting of martial law, the freeing of those detained, and an end to restrictions on Solidarity's activities. The regime had initially hoped that the church would use its influence to convince workers not to oppose martial law.

The ruling Polish United Workers Party (PUWP, the Communist Party) has itself been deeply shaken by the crackdown. Many of its rank-and-file members, including both workers and intellectuals, had openly supported Solidarity (one million were actually members of the union). They are now resigning from the party en masse. Others are being expelled.

One party official, in an admission of the extent of the crisis within the party, was quoted in the January 13 *Washington Post* as stating, "We don't need a 3-million-strong party. One million tough, dedicated communists is enough to run this country."

Nor has the extent of support for the crackdown among the ranks of the army been fully tested yet. So far, the authorities have carefully refrained from using conscript troops to break strikes or demonstrations, relying instead on the riot police or security troops of the Interior Ministry.

According to one eyewitness account of the initial resistance to martial law in Gdansk (published in the January 15 *New York Times*), a group of soldiers came to the gate of the Lenin shipyard on December 13 to bring tea and coffee to the workers occupying the shipyard. The subsequent attacks against the protesters in Gdansk — which left at least nine people dead — were carried out primarily by riot police.

While Poland's workers were taken off guard by Jaruzelski's crackdown, and have lost some of the rights they previously won, they have not been decisively defeated. They are drawing the lessons of this experience and are beginning to reorganize themselves under the new conditions of repression.

Numerous clandestine Solidarity committees have been formed to organize "passive resistance," circulate information, and provide assistance to those victimized by the authorities.

From Intercontinental Press



# What kind of solidarity with Poland?



Teachers union president Albert Shanker (in sunglasses) during TV interview at New York AFL-CIO rally on Poland. Reactionary campaign of labor misleaders plays into Reagan's hands.

BY LARRY SEIGLE

Workers in Poland are continuing their heroic battle against repression by the bureaucratic caste that rules their country. Far from being defeated, the workers are continuing to fight.

Even in the government's courtrooms, ringed with secret police, open declarations of defiance and class solidarity are being heard, as working-class leaders go on trial for organizing strikes.

Poland's Solidarity union has been built by mobilizing working people and their allies in a many-sided struggle. They are fighting to democratize the workers state and reduce the inequalities that plague Polish society.

This sounds like a good idea to more and more workers in the United States, who would like to see more democracy and less inequality here.

Solidarity has shown iron-willed determination to continue the struggle despite all obstacles. It has refused to knuckle under to the government. This has also inspired workers here. What a contrast to our own sniveling AFL-CIO officials! All they seem to know is how to make more and more concessions to the employers, thus weakening the unions.

But for the very reasons militant American workers identify with Solidarity, the capitalists recognize the Polish workers movement as their deadly enemy. This is true despite the public tears shed over martial law. "Most bankers think authoritarian governments are good because they impose discipline," one banker told the *Wall Street Journal* recently.

Canada's Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau expressed a view privately shared by his counterparts in the imperialist countries: "We see unions in Canada are always asking for more. I don't suppose the union movement in Poland is very different, they would want more, but at some stage it was obvious that the government couldn't give any more." Trudeau added that he hoped the Polish authorities would be able to "keep Solidarity from excessive demands."

## Reagan's real position

While Reagan lights candles in public for Solidarity, in reality the last thing Washington wants to see is a victory for the Polish workers. Reagan knows that the U.S. government will be the loser if the Polish workers succeed in gaining control over their country. With the working class — instead of the privileged, petty-bourgeois social caste now in power — deciding domestic and foreign policy for Poland, a powerful new force would join the revolutionary struggle. Poland, by its actions and its example, would then pose a gigantic problem for world imperialism.

This, however, has not prevented Reagan from trying to use the repression in Poland to justify Washington's rapidly escalating militarization drive.

The strategy of the ruling class in this country has been to try to channel the genuine and progressive sentiment of solidarity with the Polish workers into

support for these reactionary policies, which are not in the interests of workers — in the United States or in Poland. The rulers' aim is to draw attention away from their bipartisan offensive at home and abroad, and prevent the necessary link-up between solidarity with the Polish struggle and political opposition to the course of American imperialism.

As is their custom, the labor bureaucrats have lined up like tin soldiers in support of this policy of the employers.

In the weeks following the declaration of martial law in Poland, the AFL-CIO bureaucrats organized demonstrations on Poland. Often these were cosponsored by reactionary, anti-union Polish emigré groups, such as the Polish-American Congress.

Slogans such as "Communism means death and hunger," and "U.S.A. wake up, help us to victory over the communists," predominated at these "labor" actions.

## Gleason's boycott

That fine defender of union democracy, Thomas Gleason of the International Longshoremen's union, ordered ILA members not to handle any cargo going to or from Poland.

The fact that it will be the workers and farmers of Poland who will suffer from restrictions on trade doesn't bother Gleason. Nor does it bother the AFL-CIO officialdom.

They followed up Gleason's anticommunist boycott with a rally December 19 outside the Polish consulate in New York. Speakers urged Reagan to impose economic sanctions against Poland and the Soviet Union.

Labor officials in Canada have followed a parallel course. The Canadian Labor Congress has centered its efforts on a joint campaign with the Canadian Polish Congress, an organization of right-wing, anticommunist emigrés. The *Militant's* English-language sister publication in Canada, *Socialist Voice*, reported on a December 16 rally in Toronto organized by this alliance:

"Michael Wilson, the Tory federal financial critic, warned of the specter of socialist revolution that has threatened the 'free world' since the Russian revolution of 1917. Paul Cosgrove, the Liberal housing minister, led the crowd in the singing of 'O Canada' [Canada's national anthem]. He tried to convince us that working people in this country aren't having such a hard time after all!"

## Lift the economic blockade

Instead of calling for economic sanctions, the labor movement ought to be campaigning against them. The AFL-CIO ought to be insisting on the lifting of all restrictions on trade with the workers states, including an immediate end to the criminal economic blockades against Cuba and Vietnam.

If the AFL-CIO wanted to provide some real aid to the Polish workers, it could start by joining with the labor forces in Europe who are opposing the introduction of new nuclear weapons into

their countries. It is the U.S. arms build-up that forces states where capitalism has been overthrown, such as Poland, to undertake huge military expenditures, which of necessity come out of the pockets of the working people.

If the AFL-CIO tops really want to aid the Polish workers, why don't they point out that Western banks are extorting huge interest payments from Poland? This forces Poland to devote almost all foreign-exchange earnings to service the debt. Tom Kahn might have suggested, for instance, that interest-free loans and other economic aid be provided to Poland.

But that is not what the Polish Workers Aid Fund is all about. Rather than aiding the Polish workers, the AFL-CIO misleaders are mainly interested in helping the Democrats and Republicans to carry out their bipartisan foreign policy, which is more and more heading toward the direct use of U.S. military forces overseas, under the banner of anticommunism.

The reactionary character of the AFL-CIO campaign around Poland has repelled everyone motivated by genuine feelings of solidarity.

At the same time, right-wing forces have flooded rallies on Poland called in the name of the AFL-CIO after the declaration of martial law in Poland. Progressive-minded workers who attended these protests quickly realized they were in bad company.

## 'Leftist' anticommunist actions

Essentially the same thing happened when a few groups calling themselves socialist tried to organize demonstrations on Poland that would be more "radical" than the AFL-CIO actions. Such actions were held in a number of cities.

For example, in New York City, an ad hoc coalition held a demonstration on Poland December 16. The sponsors included organizations such as the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, the Revolutionary Socialist League, and Workers Power. The demonstration took place at the Polish consulate within hours after another, right-wing, rally was held there. As could be expected, the news media lumped in the "prosocialist" action with the right-wing protest in reporting the events.

What the sponsoring groups had in common is their refusal to politically defend the workers states against imperialism. Rather, they place "equal blame" on both imperialism and the workers states for the evils of the world, placing themselves in what they call the "third camp." But in the context of the imperialists' campaign around Poland, this "third camp" position, under the guise of "fighting Stalinism," becomes nothing but another voice in the anti-communist and anti-Soviet choir, lending left cover to the Reagan propaganda effort.

For these reasons, the Socialist Workers Party opposed demonstrations called by these forces in New York and other cities. Members of the party sold the *Militant* to people who were drawn to these actions because of their solidarity with the Polish workers, and got a good response.

## San Francisco demonstration

A similar demonstration took place in San Francisco, December 14. Called by a few small radical groups within hours of the crackdown in Poland, the protest was billed as a "prosocialist" demonstration on Poland. On the basis of this information, the San Francisco branch of the Socialist Workers Party decided to participate.

However, the demonstration turned out differently than had been anticipated. Members of the right-wing Libertarian Party turned out, carrying virulently anticommunist placards. Among their slogans were "Smash the Communist Tyrants," and "Hang Jaruzelski." Some anarchists carried slogans advocating "Anarchy for All of Poland."

Members of "third camp" groups turned out with signs such as "CIA/KGB — Both Sound the Same to Me."

The capitalist press took full advantage of this incongruous coalition.

The *San Francisco Examiner* ran a picture of an SWP placard sandwiched between two of the Libertarian anticommunist slogans. The *San Francisco Chronicle* carried an article entitled, "A Catch-All Protest in S.F."

The *Chronicle* story began, "The Libertarians were there because they hated socialism. The Socialists were there because they thought the Polish government was giving socialism a bad name." Stating the obvious, the *Chronicle* observed, "Just what the demonstration symbolized . . . was open to much disagreement among the varied protesters."

Speaking at a Bay Area-wide Militant Forum held the following weekend, SWP National Cochairperson Barry Sheppard explained that the San Francisco demonstration and others like it were an obstacle to carrying out a genuine campaign of solidarity with Polish workers. The San Francisco protest, he said, "was an anticommunist demonstration that played right into the hands of the Reagan administration and its war drive."

## Provocative slogans

Sheppard pointed to the "extremely provocative" slogans, such as "Hang Jaruzelski." These not only do not offer any solidarity to the Polish workers, but lend credence to the lies of the Kremlin bureaucrats — and of groups such as the Communist Party, the Workers World Party, and the Spartacist League — who support the crackdown on the Polish workers.

Their strategy is to smear Solidarity as a right-wing movement. To the degree that workers who support Solidarity march side by side with right-wing and even semifascist groups, this appears to support these accusations, therefore undermining Solidarity itself.

Sheppard added, "Marching with signs such as 'Anarchy for All of Poland' simply reinforces Moscow's false charge that Solidarity is responsible for 'anarchy' in Poland."

For these reasons, he said, "the demonstration was a blow to the Polish workers."

The San Francisco branch of the SWP had decided to participate because it wanted to take advantage of every possible opportunity to express working-class solidarity with Poland. At its meeting the next week, the branch concluded that this decision had been dead wrong.

Real solidarity with Polish workers includes both telling the truth about Solidarity's struggle, and campaigning at all times against the imperialists' hypocritical attempts to use the Polish events to justify their drive toward war and their offensive against the working class at home.

The San Francisco demonstration, Sheppard said, and others called by the same forces, play right into the hands of those who are the enemies of working people in Poland and in the United States.

Sheppard said the SWP will step up its efforts to explain the truth about what the Polish workers are fighting for, and about the true aims of Washington. This campaign will involve widened circulation of the *Militant* and of the new pamphlet, "Workers in Revolt," as well as public meetings, radio and television interviews, election campaigns, and utilization of every other avenue of reaching working people.

"We were burned once, but we won't be burned again," Sheppard stressed, referring to the San Francisco demonstration. The San Francisco SWP won't make the same mistake again, he added.

The lesson is a good one for all who are interested in genuine solidarity with Solidarity.



# Reagan had pledged Bob Jones U tax break

BY HARRY RING

Responding to the storm of protest evoked by its decision to restore tax-exempt status to racist schools, the Reagan administration now says it will seek legislation barring such exemptions.

The initial decision, White House aides assure, resulted from a breakdown in communications. The president simply didn't understand what was involved.

This is a brazen lie.

Reporting the initial Justice Department announcement, the January 9 *Los Angeles Times* said:

"The new policy fulfills a 1980 campaign promise made by then-candidate Ronald Reagan on the campus of Bob Jones University in Greenville, S.C., one of the beneficiaries of the tax-break decision."

Some campaign promises, it seems, are kept.

Bob Jones University and Goldsboro Christian Schools in North Carolina have been fighting the tax exemption issue for a decade. Both are right-wing fundamentalist outfits that assert they discriminate against Blacks for "religious" reasons.

Until 1971, Bob Jones University was lily-white. Threatened with loss of tax exemption, it then admitted some token Blacks, but maintains a stated policy of expelling any students who "date outside their race."

Goldsboro Christian Schools resolved the white-only problem by admitting some Asians, but it still bars Blacks. An official says, "We believe that God . . . separated men into various nations and races and that these races should be preserved."

Both schools argue that any attempt to touch their coffers interferes with their "freedom of religion."

Moves to deny them tax-exempt status have lingered in the courts for a decade. The two cases had finally reached the Supreme Court when Reagan decided to fulfill his racist campaign pledge.

With Reagan's personal approval, the Justice Department announced it was asking the Supreme Court not to review the case as scheduled, since it was moving to restore tax-exempt status to Bob Jones University and grant it to Goldsboro Christian Schools. Officials said the decision would apply to all similarly affected schools.

This means hundreds of "charitable" segregationist institutions can function with the benefit of taxpayer subsidies.

The benefits are real. In addition to dodging tax payments, such outfits don't have to pay Social Security or jobless compensation taxes, and their donors may deduct contributions from their income tax as "charity."

The NAACP filed papers in the Su-

preme Court January 15 to permit it to argue the case the government dropped.

The *New York Times*, a none-too-staunch supporter of civil rights, was moved to declare editorially, "Contrary to tax law, against the grain of every civil rights achievement in a generation . . . Ronald Reagan voluntarily permits tax benefits to flow to segregated institutions. . . . However obfuscated, however perfumed, that's still tax-exempt hate."

As justification for this outrageous move, Reagan has argued that the Treasury Department did not have the legal authority to deny tax exemption to segregated outfits, that this was a matter for Congress.

But in fact, Congress had acted some time ago. Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 specifically prohibits any kind of federal assistance to institutions that engage in racial discrimination.

Moreover, there are a series of court rulings barring such tax exemption. One key ruling was made by a federal judge in 1970. It was that decision which led the Nixon administration to advise the Treasury Department to stop granting such exemptions. (In explaining the

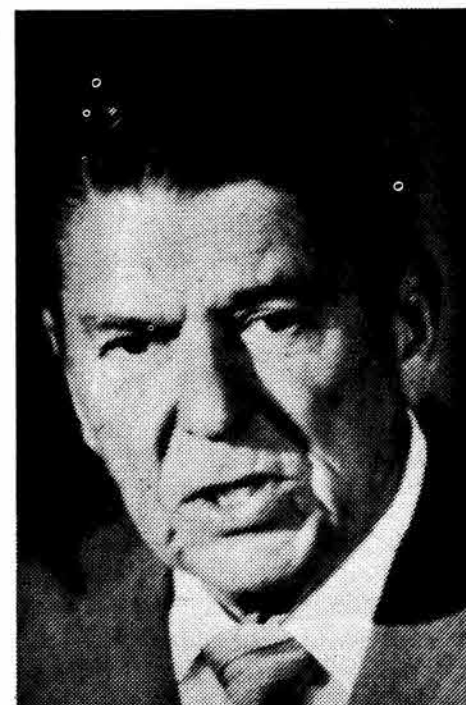
"communications breakdown," one White House aide explained they thought they were revoking a Carter policy!)

That 1970 ban on such exemptions was upheld by two federal appeals courts, and approved without comment by the Supreme Court.

Nor should it be assumed that new legislation specifically barring such tax exemptions will simply sail through Congress. For one thing, opposition to such a measure was promised by Senator Strom Thurmond, the influential Republican from South Carolina who, like Reagan, is a staunch supporter of Bob Jones University.

Thurmond indicated he would oppose denial of tax exemptions to schools that tie their racist practices to "sincerely held religious beliefs."

And, according to the January 19 *New York Times*, Democratic leaders in the House of Representatives "maintain that there is no need for the legislation." Hypocritically pointing to Reagan's action as unlawful, the Democrats use this as an excuse to limit their opposition to a pious lifting of the eyebrow.



Reagan now admits he 'originated' idea of tax break for racist schools. But he doesn't say he made campaign promise to do so at Bob Jones University.

## Socialist appeals deportation order

BY MATTHEW HERRESHOFF

On January 15 Shelley Davis, attorney for Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh, appealed the decision of Immigration Judge Joan Arrowsmith finding the Iranian student "deportable." Hariri-Vijeh was ordered January 11 to leave the country by June 15, 1982. She is being singled out because of her membership in the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party.

The Notice of Appeal was filed with the Board of Immigration Appeals in Baltimore, Maryland, where Hariri-Vijeh attends Morgan State University. The Notice charges that the deportation proceedings were "initiated on the invidiously discriminatory grounds of INS opposition to respondent's lawful political beliefs and activists."

The Notice documents the fact that Hariri-Vijeh was denied a "fair hearing and . . . due process of law." It cites Judge Arrowsmith's refusal to grant subpoenas aimed at producing necessary witnesses and documents. It also refers to her denial of Hariri-Vijeh's legal right to submit written questions to the INS concerning its policy of singling out political activists for deportation.

The INS agent's handbook contains a section directing them to find pretexts to initiate deportation proceedings against politically active immigrants. Nineteen days after Hariri-Vijeh joined

the YSA, the INS appeared on her doorstep. After questioning her, they initiated deportation proceedings on the grounds that her student visa had expired.

As an enrolled student, normally she would have asked for, and received, a renewal of her visa. Instead she has been ordered deported, a clear case of political victimization.

The Notice charges that Hariri-Vijeh was denied "the opportunity to present witnesses and evidence in her own behalf to substantiate her claim of unconstitutional 'prejudgment' or selective prosecution" because of her political views.

The Notice argues that the INS decision to "initiate deportation proceedings because of her lawful political activities is an unconstitutional selective prosecution in violation of the First and Fifth Amendments."

Ronald Hollie, president of District 1199E of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, wrote the INS Commissioner, calling the case a "part of the Reagan Administration's attacks on the rights of Blacks, women, unionists and all working people."

"This victimization of Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh, like the use of the FBI against the striking PATCO workers, is an example of the government's attempt to intimi-

date those who fight back against its policies."

Hollie's message concludes: "The historic slogan of the labor movement rings truer than ever today, 'an injury to one is an injury to all.'"

James Zogby, director of the Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee in Washington, D.C., called the decision a part of "a campaign of harassment against foreign residents and visitors to the United States. We will participate in any way we can to overturn this decision and to maintain the right of Ms. Hariri-Vijeh to remain in the U.S."

The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) has called for a protest campaign against Arrowsmith's ruling.

John Studer, executive director of PRDF, sent a letter to over 500 supporters of the rights of the foreign-born. He wrote, "A flood of emergency protests to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) is needed to stop this political persecution. Messages can be sent to: Commissioner, INS, Washington, D.C. 20536."

He explained, "Contributions are urgently needed to help expose this INS deportation plot, and to pay the legal expenses of the appeals."

Copies of protest messages and contributions can be sent to: PRDF, P.O. Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

## Do the U.S. rulers have a double standard?

BY MELVIN CHAPPELL

An article in the January 2 *Amsterdam News*, one of the most widely circulated Black weeklies in the country, posed an important question. "Why is the administration that disbanded PATCO supporting a Polish union with a name like Solidarity?" The article's author, Robert Slaymaker, goes on to answer

### BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY

that the U.S. government is responsible for creating a cold war atmosphere as a smokescreen "to increase popular tolerance to any actions, covert or overt, the U.S. might be considering in El Salvador, Libya, or Cuba."

An editorial in the same issue, headlined "Why cry for Poland?" asked another question. "What is it about the Reagan administration that it can be so indignant about Poland and so concerned about the welfare of Poles while it is so hard-hearted about Haitians?"

The editorial blasted what it called the hypocrisy of Reagan's phony support for the Polish workers. "Rea-

gan doesn't give a damn about liberty and freedom," it said.

The following week the paper declared in another editorial, "There is no reason whatever for a government that fired PATCO members for striking against it to support Solidarity members striking against the Polish government."

This trend of thinking is beginning to be picked up by many people who are active in the fight to protest the denial of democratic rights for Haitians held captive in detention camps in the United States and Puerto Rico. They fled their country to seek political and economic asylum from the repressive regime of Jean Claude Duvalier. If returned to Haiti, they will face beatings, imprisonment, and even possible death.

Last December Reverend Jesse Jackson, national leader of Operation PUSH, made a tour of the Krome Avenue North Detention Center in Miami. After the tour he said, "If there was as much press interest in South Africa and Haiti in the last ten days . . . as there has been in Poland in the last ten days, the world would change." He criticized Reagan for imposing trade sanctions on the Soviet Union while Black unionists in South Africa are continually being rounded up and imprisoned.

This viewpoint, widely expressed in the Black community, correctly points out several facts. Washington's foreign policy is surely not in the interest of the oppressed. It's as racist as its domestic policy.

But it's also important to note that Washington's policy is consistent, even though it may appear contradictory. The American rulers have no love for the Polish workers revolt. They don't want to see a democratic workers state in Poland where the workers and farmers determine the country's direction.

The U.S. ruling class couldn't have it better. While it grabs the Polish government's military crackdown to launch a virulent anticommunist campaign in the name of supporting the Polish workers, they more quietly applaud the blows being dealt to the Polish workers.

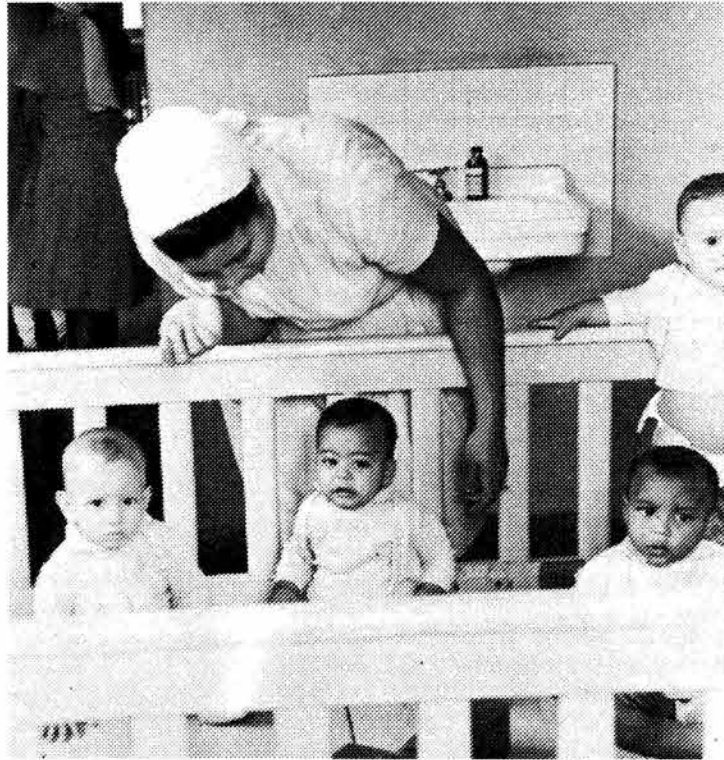
Slaymaker points to Washington's deepening war threats in Central America and the Caribbean.

At the same time he says about the Polish workers, "Are they not demanding a return to the essential tenets of socialism, a strong, central role for workers and labor unions in government?"

The answer is yes. The U.S. government is opposed to the interests of the workers of the world — whether it is PATCO, Solidarity, Black unionists in South Africa, or Haitians fleeing repression.



# Cuba's socialized medicine licks epidemic



Militant/Harry Ring

Cuba: before and after the revolution

## BY HARRY RING

In a recent speech, Fidel Castro discussed some of the remarkable gains registered by Cuba's program of socialized medicine.

He also gave an account of the massive campaign that successfully eliminated the epidemic of dengue fever, which gripped the island last spring and summer.

Last July 26, Fidel charged that there was substantial evidence that the disease had been introduced into Cuba by the U.S. government. The Pentagon has conducted experiments with this particular kind of biological warfare.

Fidel's presentation on Cuban health care was made December 9, 1981, at the fifth congress of Cuba's National Trade Union of Health Workers.

The presence of the dengue disease was first detected last May in communities on the outskirts of Havana. The contagion peaked in early July, and the last reported case was October 10.

Transmitted by the *Aedes aegypti* mosquito, the particular type of dengue that swept Cuba had previously been unknown outside of Southeast Asia. An especially deadly variety of the disease, it brings racking joint pains, high fever, and in some cases hemorrhaging and shock.

Before the outbreak was contained, 344,203 Cubans had been infected.

There were 158 deaths, of which 101 were under fifteen years old.

The toll would have been far higher if it had not been for an immediate mass mobilization to combat the outbreak. As one measure, more than 2,600,000 homes and buildings were fumigated.

Cuba's system of free medical care for all was key to the success of the drive.

Specialists agree that with the hemorrhagic type of dengue, the patient's life often depends on quick hospitalization.

In the course of the epidemic, 116,143 Cubans were hospitalized.

In his speech to the health workers, Fidel declared, "It was a titanic battle, a truly revolutionary response by our workers, which, I'm convinced, saved the lives of thousands."

Cuba's remarkable health care gains are particularly impressive when compared to the medical plight of colonial peoples.

Fidel offered some figures that suggest the extent of human suffering.

In the developed countries, he said, life expectancy is over seventy-two. In Asia and Africa, it's barely fifty.

Detailing the harrowing results of imperialism in the colonial world, Fidel said: "To sum up, 220 out of every 1,000 children born in the poorest countries die before they're one year old; another 100 die before they're five; only 500 live to the age of forty. Fifteen million children under five die every year, which represents more than one-third of the deaths in the world."

By contrast, the infant mortality rate in Cuba now compares favorably with that of more prosperous nations. Some comparisons are worth noting.

For example, in Washington, D.C., which has the highest U.S. infant death rate, the figure for 1980 was 24.6 deaths per 1,000 births. That, of course, is the "average." For D.C. whites, the figure is 13.1 deaths per thousand; for Blacks — the big majority in D.C. — it is 26.6 per thousand.

Compare this to Cuba's 19.4 per thousand. Cuba has reduced its infant mortality rate each year. Just since 1975, the rate has dropped 30 percent. In Washington, the rate jumped 10 percent last year.

The difference, of course, comes down to the simple fact that in socialist Cuba, despite limited resources, medical care for the people is considered a top priority.

But in capitalist America, public health care — separated from medical industry profits — is a low-priority item indeed.

When the revolution came to power in 1959, Fidel recalled, there were but 6,000 doctors in Cuba. Within a few years, 3,000 of them had left for Miami.

That left Cuba with one doctor for every 2,500 people. (Again, that's "average." Fidel points out that in the entire Sierra Maestra region there wasn't a single doctor.)

Cuba today has over 16,000 doctors — one for every 600 Cubans. And they're spread throughout the island, not clustered in major cities like Havana and Santiago.

The result? Today, Cuba has a life expectancy the same as the developed countries: seventy-two years.

And new gains in medical care are being registered. For example, Fidel re-

ported that when the dengue epidemic erupted, Cuba had but one intensive care unit in a children's hospital. This was in Havana, and acutely ill children had to be brought there from other parts of the island.

As a result of this experience, Fidel said, new intensive care units have been completed in a matter of months in virtually all of Cuba's children's hospitals.

Meanwhile, the nation's medical care program is being steadily expanded. Work is now going on to establish at least one medical school in each of Cuba's fourteen provinces.

Some people have wondered, Fidel observed, if Cuba might soon have a surplus of doctors. But, he said, there can be no such thing. The day may come, he speculated, when Cuba will have a doctor for every school, for every factory, for every ship.

And, he emphasized, there is an enormous need for doctors and medical workers abroad. Cuba today has more than 1,000 doctors functioning in nationally oppressed countries with actual medical shortages. This is more than double the number provided by the United Nations World Health Organization.

In addition, there are a few hundred Cuban doctors working abroad under contracts that provide a significant source of revenue for Cuba's hard-pressed economy, and Fidel indicated, this may be increased.

"Needless to say," he emphasized, "there'll always be a number of countries . . . which we will provide with medical assistance free of charge."

This year, Cuba is celebrating the 100th anniversary of the discovery of the mosquito that carries yellow fever. This was the work of Carlos Finlay, a Cuban.

Saluting Finlay, and what he had accomplished with so little resources available, Fidel said, "We can easily imagine how much our revolution can achieve, and what ambitious goals our scientists and our doctors can set for themselves."

## Whatever happened to Libya's 'hit squad'?

### BY WILL REISSNER

Whatever happened to the Libyan hit men who were supposed to be stalking President Reagan? For three weeks, from late November to mid-December, the front pages of U.S. newspapers and the radio and television airwaves were filled with lurid accounts of Libyan hit squads unleashed against Reagan and other top U.S. officials.

Depending on which account you read, trained assassins had already been sighted in Canada, poised to cross the border; one hit man had succeeded in entering the United States due to a foul-up at New York's Kennedy Airport; "Carlos the Jackal" was already in the country with a trained band of killers; "Carlos the Jackal" was still in Mexico preparing to sneak across the border.

Palestinians, Libyans, Lebanese, Iranians, and an East German were positively identified as the assassins, complete with composite sketches that were run in the newspapers and shown on television screens.

The charge that Libyan leader Muammar el-Qaddafi had dispatched the hit squads was made by Vice-president Bush, President Reagan, and high officials at the State Department.

Day after day new "information" was leaked to the capitalist media, which could be counted on to splash it across the front pages and airwaves. According to Reagan himself, "we have the evidence, and he [Qaddafi] knows it."

And then, after December 13, the reports of hit men evaporated as suddenly as they had appeared. December 13 was the date of the proclamation of martial law in Poland. The U.S. rulers finally had something that was really happening on which to base a propaganda cam-

paign.

In fact there was never a single shred of evidence for all the wild charges against Libya. There never were any hit squads. There were no hired assassins. There was no plot whatsoever — except on the part of the U.S. government.

Columnist Jack Anderson reported on January 7 that "it's possible the CIA's foreign hirelings cooked up the 'hit squad' on their own. It fit neatly into the Reagan Administration's political scheme of things, and — voila! a full-blown international incident was born."

According to Anderson, one of his associates was shown a forty-page Central Intelligence Agency report on the "hit squads," revealing that the key informer supposedly present when Qaddafi ordered the establishment of the murder teams "demanded \$500,000 for his information (whether he received it is unknown)."

This informer also offered to put the CIA in contact with other sources in Beirut. Anderson reports that the CIA knew these people as "hustlers who had been peddling phony documents for years." Despite this, the Reagan administration seized on their tale.

One congressman who had been secretly briefed on the administration's "evidence" regarding the hit squads stated that "I could never discover just what it was that made them take this threat any more seriously than they would any of the others that must come to the White House every day."

The entire exercise was a cynical propaganda campaign carried out with the compliance of the entire capitalist media. It was designed to isolate the Libyan government internationally and to provide justification for the Reagan ad-

ministration's economic and military moves against that country.

On January 3, Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) director William Webster was interviewed on ABC television. Webster admitted that the FBI never had any evidence that there were any "hit squads." When asked if these reports could have been planted to throw the government "into a tizzy" and make it "look somewhat silly," Webster acknowledged, "That's always a possibility."

## Border cops indicted for sexual abuse

Two U.S. Border Patrol agents were indicted January 5 by a federal grand jury in El Paso, Texas, on charges of assaulting and sexually abusing two Mexican women they detained after the women entered the country without papers.

The agents, David Davila and Robert Jacques, were charged with conspiring to violate the constitutional rights of the women. The indictment said they deprived the women of their liberty without due process of law on October 18, 1980, by coercing them to provide sexual favors.

The women, who were accompanied by two U.S. Army privates stationed at Fort Bliss, were detained in El Paso after they had walked across the Mexican border.

Later, the indictment said, the women went with the cops to Davila's apartment, where sexual relations took place.

The maximum penalty upon conviction of each count of conspiracy and deprivation of rights is one year in prison and a \$1,000 fine.



# Disabled workers are first victims of attacks on Social Security

BY MORRIS STARKSKY

CINCINNATI — The U.S. government has opened its attack on the Social Security program by targeting disabled workers. Since last March the Social Security administration has been redetermining the eligibility of disabled workers currently receiving benefits at the rate of 30,000 per month. Nearly 30 percent of those redetermined are terminated from the Social Security program.

Until the early sixties there was no government program covering disability. In most cases, the disabled simply shared the resources of other family members or sought relief from public assistance agencies. In some cases, workers risked death by trying to earn a living.

The addition of disability coverage to the Social Security program was a big concession to the working class. Eligible workers could receive benefits for themselves and their dependents without meeting poverty criteria imposed by public assistance agencies. Although many workers are not covered by Social Security and those who are must bear the heavy burden of proving eligibility for disability benefits, the program does provide some disabled workers with a non-taxable, inflation-adjusted income and low cost medical insurance.

All of this began to change in 1979. At that time new guidelines for disability

eligibility were imposed by the Social Security administration. Under these new guidelines, workers under fifty cannot be considered disabled unless they are in a hospital dying or a complete bed-ridden invalid. There is a forty-three-year-old machinist in Rochester, New York, waiting for a heart transplant, yet the Social Security administration does not consider him disabled.

Since 1979 the number of workers applying for disability benefits who were found to be eligible has dropped from 55 percent to 25 percent. Follow up studies have shown that these workers either do not look for a job or are not hired because they are too impaired by sickness or injury.

At the end of June there were approximately 2.9 million disabled workers (excluding dependents) receiving Social Security benefits. That figure is only slightly up from 1980 because fewer new applicants are receiving benefits and because the new eligibility guidelines are being applied retroactively.

The retroactive application of the new eligibility guidelines was not intended to start until 1982. However, it was initiated under the title "Accelerated Continuing Disability Investigations" on March 1, 1981. Since March thousands of disabled workers have lost their benefits. In Ohio, nearly 2,000 have been terminated and another 6,000 are still being redetermined. In Michigan, near-

ly 1,000 have been terminated and another 5,000 are pending. In Illinois, over 2,000 have already been terminated while 5,000 are being redetermined. And the process has just begun.

In most cases of termination the Social Security administration admits that the worker is too impaired by sickness or injury to be able to do ordinary work. It tells these workers that there are sedentary jobs available that are suited to their physical limitations. The burden of finding such a job — if it exists at all — is on the disabled workers. Even if there were such jobs available, the fact that few employers will hire sick or injured workers over forty years old is not considered relevant by the Social Security administration.

The disabled workers who have lost their Social Security benefits in recent months are victims of a ruling class attack on the Social Security program. The capitalists eventually want to launch a bipartisan attack on the entire Social Security program, but the political cost of a frontal attack on the Social Security program would be too high right now. So, they are going after the most vulnerable beneficiaries of the program by an administrative change of rules.

*Morris Starsky is currently challenging termination of his own Social Security disability status.*



Militant/Lou Howort

## Dessie Mackin wins right to return to Republic of Ireland

BY MARC LICHTMAN

NEW YORK — In an important victory for the Irish freedom struggle and for civil liberties in the United States, Irish Republican Dessie Mackin was freed after fifteen months in the Metropolitan Correctional Center. He is now in the Republic of Ireland.

Mackin came to the United States to tell the American people the truth about the plight of Irish political prisoners in British occupied Northern Ireland. Like many Irish Republicans, he was denied a visa and had to come here without one. He was arrested on October 1, 1980, and charged with entering the country illegally.

At that time, Mackin agreed to accept deportation to the Irish Republic. But shortly before his plane was to leave, he was informed that the British government had filed a warrant to extradite him to Northern Ireland, where he faces frame-up charges of attempted murder of a British soldier.

On August 14, 1981, U.S. Magistrate Naomi Reice Buchwald ruled that even if Mackin had committed the act he is accused of, it grew out of a political conflict and therefore he was protected from extradition under an exemption in a treaty between the United States and Britain.

Although he had won his case, Mackin was still denied bail while the U.S. government appealed the decision. The appeal was rejected by the court on December 23, and one week later the U.S. and British officials decided to accept defeat rather than allow the case to generate more bad publicity for them.

Vindictive until the end, the U.S. attorney insisted that Mackin's lawyers pay the plane fare for his deportation. Immigration cops even held him incommunicado at Kennedy Airport, preventing fifty supporters and several reporters from being able to view him entering the plane.

In addition to denying Mackin a visa, the U.S. State Department also revoked the entry visa for right-wing bigot and Loyalist member of British Parliament, Ian Paisley. The U.S. government can now claim that it evenhandedly keeps out "extremists," but Paisley is only the second prominent Loyalist to be denied a visa, while Irish Republicans are systematically kept out.

Supporters of Irish freedom in this country have everything to gain from a free exchange of views about Ireland. Unfortunately the Irish National Caucus, which lobbies Congress on Irish issues, campaigned for Paisley's visa denial. They should instead have used the occasion of his tour to step up demands that spokespeople for Irish Republicanism also be allowed to come and speak in the United States.

## Givebacks won't save jobs at McLouth Steel

BY STU SINGER

McLouth, the eleventh largest steel company, filed for bankruptcy in December. The Detroit-based company is one of the most modern steel operations.

It was given until January 29 to present a financial recovery plan to avoid seizure of its assets. The bankruptcy was forced by National Bank of Detroit, Prudential Insurance, and others who hold \$166 million in notes. They refused to renegotiate the debt without the recovery plan.

In the last two years the company has laid off 2,000 workers. On January 7, the 3,000 remaining members of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) took the advice of their union leaders. They voted 1,656 to 179 for the following: give up two cost of living raises from last year, no cost of living allowance or pay raises this year, give up one week of vacation and three paid holidays.

This is supposed to save the company \$14 million. It averages \$5,548 per worker.

The steelworkers were offered no alternative. They saw it as a choice of giving up money or being out of work. Michigan has over 15 percent unemployment.

USWA District 29 Director Harry Lester told the *Wall Street Journal* the givebacks would be "a sizable contribution to McLouth's financial problems, and something that will be very impressive to the lenders."

The lenders want to be more impressed. One said, "They aren't going to cut their wages in half, and that's the kind of thing they'd need to do to really help McLouth."

McLouth is partly owned by General Motors (GM). When the auto industry was booming, GM bought McLouth stock and guaranteed to buy its steel. That was when the company modernized. But now GM is making fewer cars and buying a lot less steel.

Steelworkers at the company will probably suffer more job losses and they can expect to be hit up for more concessions.

But McLouth may shut down anyway. Only about 60 percent of steel capacity in the country is being used.

The McLouth case sheds some light on

the decision by U.S. Steel to spend \$6.5 billion for Marathon Oil. This has outraged some steelworkers who expected the company to modernize its plants hoping that would save jobs.

Wall Street analysts blame McLouth's problems on its big investment in steel instead of more profitable industries. Modernizing McLouth did not save jobs.

The steel industry does need to be modernized. Steel is a necessity of modern society.

Modernization means that more steel can be produced more safely and with less work. In a rational system this would mean higher wages and a shorter work week.

But the owners of the steel industry

have different considerations. They want longer hours, lower wages, less money spent on safety. Their investment decisions are based entirely on maintaining or increasing profits.

The McLouth example shows why U.S. Steel is pouring money into oil wells, not new steel making equipment.

The "friends of labor" politicians are also getting their two cents out of the McLouth bankruptcy. Democratic Senator Donald Riegle and a task force of Michigan politicians are petitioning Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger to certify the steel company as a defense contractor. If Weinberger comes through, McLouth, Riegle, and the others will get a new place at the war industry trough.

## Houston cops gun down Black man

BY LAURA MOORHEAD

HOUSTON, Texas — Only hours after the inauguration of this city's first woman mayor, Kathy Whitmire, more than 100 demonstrators gathered at City Hall to protest the police murder of Eddie Lee Johnson.

Johnson, a Black mental patient, was gunned down by more than thirty officers of the Houston Police Department in December. The shooting took place outside a district police building where Johnson, dressed in martial arts garb, had been taunting police for several hours while brandishing a knife. There was no apparent attempt made to subdue Johnson, even though he was grossly outnumbered. The cops involved in the shooting were reassigned to desk duty with pay pending the outcome of an internal investigation which cleared them of any wrongdoing. The morning of the shooting, Johnson's mother, Mary Johnson, had tried unsuccessfully to have her son admitted to the psychiatric ward of Jefferson Davis Hospital. The hospital, which is a county facility, told Johnson that her son would have to be put on a waiting list because there was no room. Thirteen days after the shooting, Mary Johnson, who suffered from a weak-heart condition, died of a heart attack. The day of the shooting Eddie Lee Johnson's twin brother told the media that his brother would not have been

killed if he hadn't been Black. Johnson's brother was arrested and later released on a charge of threatening the life of a minister.

To chants of "HPD you can't hide, we charge you with genocide" and "Cops and the Klan work hand in hand," demonstrators rallied at City Hall and then marched to the Police Administration building. The rally was chaired by Deloyd Parker of the Shape Community Center, a service organization that helped to spearhead the protest. State Representative Al Edwards, who headed a community effort to raise money for the burial expenses of Eddie Lee and Mary Johnson, demanded that the HPD "protect us, not neglect us, and respect us." Justice of the Peace Alexander Green, one of three Black candidates in the mayoral race, told the crowd that "you don't have to be Black to be a victim of police brutality."

Referring to the overwhelming vote in the Black community for Kathy Whitmire over Sheriff Jack Heard in the runoff election, Green put the new Whitmire administration on notice by warning that, "The time has come for us not to allow one person to get 90 percent of our vote and ignore us." Messages were also heard from Ernest McMillan of the Houston Black United Front and the Rev. Mickey McGuire.



# UAW auto contract: reopening will cut pay and jobs

## Union heads playing bosses' game

BY SUSAN ANMUTH

The United Auto Workers leadership reopened its contract with General Motors Corporation and the Ford Motor Company nine months before the current agreement expired.

The automobile employers exerted tremendous pressure on the union. They threatened to shut down more North American plants if the UAW didn't grant them substantial concessions.

More than 214,000 auto workers — 29 percent of all auto workers — are on indefinite layoff. At least half of them will probably never be rehired, even if auto sales boom. Over 70,000 auto workers are on temporary furlough. In many plants, entire shifts have been wiped out, including workers with up to ten years' seniority. In the process the gains of affirmative action programs have been devastated: few women are left in the industry. This wave of layoffs contributed to softening up the UAW ranks to accept the givebacks.

The concessions demanded by the companies are aimed at wages, the cost-of-living allowance, paid personal holidays, vacations, work rule changes to speed up the assembly line, and medical and pension benefits.

Ironically, the paid personal holidays were fought for and won by the union as a step toward a shorter work week in order to save jobs. Now they are being eliminated supposedly to save jobs.

The UAW gave up \$1.2 billion in 1979 and 1980 when Chrysler corporation claimed to be on the verge of bankruptcy. Neither General Motors (GM) nor Ford make such a claim; in fact, GM posted a profit last year. But agreeing to Chrysler's demands left the UAW vulnerable.

### An injury to one injures all

Despite promises to the contrary, the contract concessions are not meant to be temporary. Nor are they limited to the 750,000 auto workers in the UAW. The auto contract sets a precedent for almost all industrial workers. The concessions jeopardize negotiations this year for textile, electrical and rubber workers. It's no wonder *Business Week* hailed the UAW concessions as setting off "the most significant" bargaining round "in thirty-five years."

Singing the old tune, "What's good for General Motors is good for the country," GM Chairman Roger Smith explained that a moderate agreement "would represent an enormously important contribution to the welfare of the entire country."

It surely will contribute to the coffers of the ruling class. As the *New York Times* admitted January 7, "Experts expect concessions to bring a transfer of millions of dollars from employees to employers."

What is going on at the bargaining table between GM, Ford, and the UAW is part of an all-out assault by big business and its government. The attack ranges from promoting racist private schools, to breaking the air controllers' union, to training El Salvadoran troops, to attacks against abortion rights and the ERA.

### Turning victims into criminals

*Business week* wrote that unions "must start thinking in terms of bringing costs under tight control, even when inflation is cutting into the real purchasing power of wages." The capitalists' goal is to permanently lower our standard of living.

Unfortunately, the UAW leadership is playing into their hands. The union reached agreement with General Mo-

tors to link substantial wage and benefit concessions to lower car prices. Douglas Fraser, president of the UAW, says, "This will be a dollar-for-dollar pass-through." Supposedly, an accounting firm jointly selected by the company and the union will examine GM's records to make sure its savings are passed on to the consumer.

This may initially sound good to some UAW members: if prices on cars are lower, sales will go up and jobs will be saved. But the plan is a fraud. GM won't fully disclose its books to outside accountants. Moreover, with unemployment reaching 10 percent and interest rates 15 to 20 percent, lower prices will not substantially increase car sales. The proposed agreement is a gimmick to get the rank and file to agree to GM's squeezing higher profit margins from our hides.

So far, Ford is refusing to tie labor cost savings to lower prices. Their recalcitrance aids the Fraser leadership in selling the deal to the UAW ranks.

Solidarity House, the UAW headquarters, is perfectly frank about the real purpose of the agreement. Donald Ephlin, head of the union's Ford department, explained, "Mr. Smith understood that the union is a democratic institution and that this approach will be helpful in winning ratification."

UAW officials are conceding the point stressed by auto magnates that U.S. auto workers have been pricing ourselves out of the market. In other words, the victims of the crisis are being blamed for the crisis.

### Concessions help profits, not jobs

By the third round of giveaways Chrysler workers barely passed the last givebacks by a 52 to 48 percent vote. They are learning just how useless their sacrifices are. In fact, Chrysler is again requesting permission to defer payments into a pension fund for UAW members.

Pete Kelly, an official of Local 160 at GM, notes that the automakers will invest the money saved by concessions in labor-saving machinery, which will then displace more workers.

General Motors admits it. Its chairman, Roger Smith, told *New York Times* reporters and editors on January 10, "Every time the cost of labor goes up \$1 an hour, 1,000 more robots become economical."

In addition to increasing labor-displacing machinery, the auto companies buy more components from lower-wage countries, a practice known as outsourcing.

GM has already cancelled \$8 billion worth of new plants and equipment in the United States, including postponing the Hamtramck plant. It destroyed the Poletown section of Detroit to make way for it. At the same time, both GM and Ford continue to open new plants in other countries, such as Mexico, where wages are less than one-third those in the United States.

The Big Three also own significant parts of foreign companies. Chrysler owns 15 percent of Peugeot in France and 15 percent of Mitsubishi in Japan. Ford owns 25 percent of Toyo Kogyo, which produces the Mazda, in Japan. And General Motors owns a significant part of Isuzu and Suzuki in Japan.

GM's Opel is the second largest auto producer in West Germany, while Ford is the second largest auto maker in Great Britain and the fourth largest in West Germany.

The U.S. auto giants' international ties point up their hypocrisy. GM chairman Smith said, "Just as GM has to



Militant/Susan Anmuth

**On the line at Metuchen. Ford changed over production from the Pinto and Bobcat to the Escort and Lynx, the so-called 'world cars' that would save company sales. A year later, Ford eliminated the entire second shift.**

compete with the Japanese auto companies as if they were right across town, so does our worker have to compete with the Japanese worker as if he lived across the street."

On the contrary. The increasing internationalization of auto production and sales raises the issue of international workers solidarity with a new urgency.

One example of their strategy is GM's propaganda program called "The Road to Survival." The aim as they put it, is to "reduce or eliminate unrealistic expectations about economic gains in the forthcoming contract negotiations" and to stress the need "to conserve and even sacrifice" since "competition — particularly from Japanese producers — has intensified."

The barrage by GM and Ford leading up to the contract reopening focused on wage competition. They claimed the need to narrow an alleged \$8 an hour wage advantage enjoyed by Japanese manufacturers.

How real is this?

First, the \$8 figure covers total labor costs. It is based on an estimated \$20 an hour cost for American workers. But auto wages here are under \$12 an hour. The \$20 includes estimates of medical benefits, the Supplemental Unemployment Fund and other labor costs.

In Japan, while actual wages are less than \$8 an hour, other labor costs are difficult to compare. Many workers' benefits such as company-subsidized transportation, housing and layoff protection are calculated as fixed operating costs rather than variable labor costs.

Nonetheless, it is true that Japanese auto workers have a lower standard of living than employed U.S. auto workers.

And auto workers in Mexico, Brazil, South Africa, and other countries, where Ford and GM have plants, have an even lower standard of living.

There is only one effective response to such threats. The UAW must solidarize with all other auto workers. We must support our brothers and sisters' fight to raise their wages and benefits, not lower ours.

### Why is there an auto crisis?

The more modern and efficient Japanese auto industry is grabbing a larger share of the U.S. auto market. But that market is shrinking and even the Japanese companies are selling fewer cars.

The problem is that more cars are being produced in the entire world capitalist market than can be consumed. Competition for the shrinking market is heightened. The most efficient producers can grab a bigger share.

With their profit rate plunging and unsold inventories building up, the auto companies are striking out at workers and our wages. They are also chopping production. Only 50 percent of U.S. auto production capacity is now being used.

The crisis of overproduction is a disease unique to capitalism.

The concessions being demanded by GM and Ford will do one thing: increase company profits.

Auto workers have no reason to believe that increasing profits will help us.

Experience has shown otherwise.

The United Auto Workers was born in the struggle to defend our interests — not ensure the profitability of General Motors, Ford, or Chrysler. That is still the purpose of the union, in bad economic times as in good. We have to start from the framework of what working people need.

*Susan Anmuth, a member of UAW Local 980, worked at the Ford assembly plant in Metuchen, New Jersey, for three years. She was one of the 1,500 workers, including 250 women, put on indefinite layoff when Ford eliminated the entire second shift January 18.*

## Cholera hits Blacks in South Africa

Cholera is becoming well established in South Africa's rural Black "homelands." For nearly a century this infectious disease had been virtually unknown in South Africa. But in the last fifteen months nearly 7,000 cases have been confirmed, resulting in at least seventy deaths.

"According to the January 17 *New York Times*, 'Only two whites, both laboratory technicians, and a small number of Indians in the province of Natal are known to have been infected. The rest have been black.'"

Calculated on a per capita basis, South Africa now has a higher incidence of the disease than India and Indonesia where it has been well established for a long time.

Cholera thrives where there is contaminated water and poor sanitation. These are the conditions that prevail in the so-called independent "homelands" set up for millions of Blacks by South Africa's racist apartheid regime.

## Reading on UAW history

**A Political Biography of Walter Reuther: The Record of an Opportunist** by Beatrice Hansen. 23 pp. 40 cents.

**Labor's Giant Step: Twenty Years of the CIO** by Art Preis. 538 pp. \$8.95 paper.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.



# Freedom of the press in Nicaragua

## Is 'La Prensa' newspaper a victim of Sandinista 'totalitarianism'?



**La Prensa's role in opposing Somoza dictatorship won it a worldwide reputation. Publisher Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, left, was murdered by Somozaists in January 1978. November 20, 1981, issue at right is typical of La Prensa today. Headline reads, 'Mob attacks Archbishop!' 'Mob' is La Prensa codeword for Sandinistas. The 'attack,' it turned out, never happened.**

Sin Libertad de Prensa, no hay Libertad.

**LA PRENSA**

AL SERVICIO DE LA VERDAD Y LA JUSTICIA

Managua, Viernes 20 de Noviembre de 1981

16 PAGINAS

C\$2.00

Obando y Bravo: ¿Es éste el "hombre nuevo"?

# Turba ataca al Arzobispo!

Un nuevo atentado contra Monseñor Miguel Obando y Bravo, Arzobispo de Managua, perpetrado anoche a las 7:10 en el Templo de Monseñor Lescano, en Managua, por un reducido grupo de personas que se identificaron como "turba".

La turba, al atacar el templo, se apropió de los bienes que se encontraban en el interior, entre ellos: un vehículo "Golden Eagle", propiedad de Monseñor Obando y Bravo, que se encontraba estacionado en el templo. El vehículo fue destruido por la turba.

La turba también se apropió de los bienes que se encontraban en el templo, entre ellos: un vehículo "Golden Eagle", propiedad de Monseñor Obando y Bravo, que se encontraba estacionado en el templo. El vehículo fue destruido por la turba.

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### Nicaragua no

## ONU pide retiro de interventores en Afganistán

El Dr. Arturo Cruz, exmiembro de la Junta de Gobierno y quien acaba de renunciar como Embajador de Nicaragua en Washington, se expresó en la prensa por la forma en que se está desarrollando la guerra en Afganistán.

## Cruz fiador de presos del COSEP

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## Enseñanzas de un fugitivo checo

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## Cuando se tiene todo sin libertad, se deja todo por la libertad!

BY ARNOLD WEISSBERG

MANAGUA — According to the U.S. big-business press, Nicaragua is rapidly becoming a totalitarian state. The Sandinista government is supposedly cracking down on dissent, on freedom of religion, on freedom of the press. The number one victim, according to this version of the Nicaraguan revolution, is the daily newspaper *La Prensa*.

*La Prensa* has allegedly fallen victim to the drive of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) toward totalitarianism because it refuses to knuckle under and insists on its right to print the news as it sees fit. The editors of the *Wall Street Journal* lamented November 4 that Nicaragua's "one independent newspaper, *La Prensa*, also once a Somoza foe, has been threatened with permanent closing if it continues to insist on reporting the junta's activities honestly."

"If the Sandinistas make good their threat to shut down the opposition newspaper *La Prensa* permanently," an October 19 editorial in the *Miami Herald* declared, "that will seal their self-definition as totalitarian enemies of freedom."

On November 9 the *Washington Post* editors warned that freedom of the press in Nicaragua is "under siege," and on November 25 a *New York Times* editorial complained that "*La Prensa*, the newspaper that led the fight against the Somoza tyranny, has been repeatedly closed down."

But this version of life in Nicaragua has nothing to do with the truth. In fact, there is a greater degree of freedom and considerably more diversity of opinion expressed in the major news media in Nicaragua today than in any other Latin American country.

Three nationally circulated daily newspapers are freely available in this country of only 2.7 million people. One

can also buy *Time* or *Newsweek* or *La Nación*, a daily paper from San José, Costa Rica. None of these publications is friendly to the Sandinista government.

A wide variety of other English- and Spanish-language magazines — ranging from the U.S. socialist magazine *Perspectiva Mundial* and various Cuban publications to *Popular Mechanics* and the Spanish editions of *Cosmopolitan* and *Readers Digest* — are also distributed.

Several anti-Sandinista radio stations broadcast freely, alongside the government's Voice of Nicaragua and the FSLN's Radio Sandino.

### Five closings

It is true that *La Prensa* has been ordered to suspend publication briefly from time to time. In 1981, the paper was shut five times by government order for a total of seven days. The last time was in early October.

*La Prensa* has never been closed for expressing an opinion, however, only for printing demonstrably false information that the editors could easily have checked beforehand or that they already knew to be false.

*La Prensa* prints false information because its publishers are bitterly opposed to the revolution. The paper's political stance is one of willful blindness to the great gains made by Nicaragua's working people in the two-and-a-half years since the overthrow of the Somozaist tyranny.

*La Prensa* speaks for the half-dozen or so political parties that represent the industrialists, big merchants, and big landowners. The Sandinista organizations, which encompass hundreds of thousands of workers, peasants, students, youth, and women members, either do not exist in its pages or are dismissed by *La Prensa* as "officialist."

*La Prensa's* coverage of Nicaragua's

difficult economic situation consists almost entirely of proclamations from or interviews with employer and capitalist organizations or leaders, such as the Chamber of Commerce or the Chamber of Industries.

### A case of deliberate falsification

The paper's efforts to discredit the FSLN's economic management led it to print a slanderous interview at the end of September that resulted in a suspension order.

The interview was with one Alberto Mantilla, a pharmaceutical manufacturer. Mantilla, as it turned out, had already left the country permanently. *La Prensa* portrayed him as an honest, hardworking businessman driven out of his homeland by the FSLN's economic policies.

Mantilla, furthermore, declared in the interview that he had been the victim of a harassment campaign by the vice-minister of industry.

Unfortunately for *La Prensa*, Mantilla turned out to have been looting his firm for years through tax evasion and other illegal financial manipulations. The Ministry of Justice announced it had already ordered Mantilla's arrest.

In addition, when challenged, neither *La Prensa* nor Mantilla could provide any evidence of harassment.

*La Prensa* was closed for two days by government order for publishing this slanderous attack and for encouraging illegal business practices and economic sabotage. The fact that Mantilla criticized a government official had nothing to do with it. All three daily papers, including the FSLN's *Barricada*, carry regular criticism — sometimes quite strong — of government officials.

*La Prensa* was also closed last July for deliberately printing false information. The paper ran a front-page photo of a

nun standing beside some religious billboards that appeared to have been torn down. "Unknown persons destroyed these billboards with religious slogans," the caption declared, while an editorial accused "vandals hostile to the reign of Jesus Christ over Nicaragua" — a widely understood reference to the FSLN.

As it turned out, the very nun who had arranged to put up the billboards had also arranged for taking them down. In the photograph, the nun was simply supervising the work. *La Prensa* knew this before the story ran.

*La Prensa* has labored to portray the FSLN as against freedom of religion and has suggested that the Sandinistas seek to impose atheism in Nicaragua by government fiat.

### Division in church

There is no government repression of religion in Nicaragua. The Sandinista television network goes so far as to show the pope celebrating mass every Sunday.

At the same time, there is a deep division today in the Nicaraguan Catholic church. On one side, there is the "people's church," which closely identifies the ideals of Christianity with the goals of the revolution.

On the other side, there is the church hierarchy, far more conservative, which has been pressuring the priests in the government to give up their posts, and which has used its power to silence revolutionary-minded priests and nuns.

*La Prensa* sides with the hierarchy. In the world of *La Prensa*, "mobs" — a codeword for Sandinistas — continually threaten the archbishop or one of the bishops.

For example, last November a jeep used by Archbishop Miguel Obando y Bravo was vandalized while the archbishop was delivering a religious service. Its tires were slashed and windows shattered.

"Mob attacks Archbishop!" screamed the following day's *La Prensa* headline. But the paper was well aware that there had been no mob at all.

### Heading for new Dark Age?

So frequently does *La Prensa* use the word "mob" that at many workplaces and in neighborhoods people have hung banners answering *La Prensa*: "We're mobs — so what?"

*La Prensa's* campaign around religion is part of a larger project aimed at painting a picture of Nicaraguan society as living through a period of unrelieved turbulence.

Thus, "mobs" are in control, traditional institutions such as the family are under attack, the economy is in chaos. Civil liberties are threatened, totalitarian violence is on the rise, and Nicaragua stands on the edge of a new Dark Age. To drive home its point, the paper plays up crime stories, traffic accidents, and similar sensationalist items.

*La Prensa's* efforts to undermine the FSLN fit in with the U.S. government's campaign to isolate and destroy the Nicaraguan revolution. The propaganda from Washington also portrays the Sandinistas as violence-prone and totalitarian.

Meanwhile, in *La Prensa*, the U.S. government appears as peace-loving and interested only in good relations with Nicaragua.

Every word coming from the White House finds a friendly home in the pages of *La Prensa*. "Bush offers Nicaragua friendship," read one headline, when in fact Vice-president George Bush had warned Nicaragua to break its friendly ties with Cuba. Or "Haig: door is open" — when the secretary of state had likewise warned Nicaragua to alter the



# gua: a first-hand report

course of its revolution or suffer the consequences of a total rupture with Washington.

## Support for Salvadoran junta

*La Prensa's* admiration of U.S. foreign policy extends to the war in El Salvador, where the paper supports the bloody military-Christian Democratic junta that is responsible for tens of thousands of murders.

When the U.S. State Department was insisting that the Salvadoran junta was a moderate government beset by extremists from both sides, so did *La Prensa*. Favorable articles about happy peasants and the success of the junta's phony land reform appeared regularly.

Now, when the White House justifies U.S. military intervention in El Salvador simply on the basis of fighting communism, *La Prensa* readers are treated to articles about alleged Cuban military advisers and lying horror stories about guerrilla atrocities.

For example, when guerrillas dynamited a key bridge in the center of El Salvador last October, both the U.S. government and *La Prensa* implied that it had been done by a special brigade of Cuban troops.

*La Prensa* also dutifully reported a completely false story — featured on the front page — that several hundred peasants had been killed in the attack.

Similarly, when France and Mexico issued a joint declaration last August recognizing the Salvadoran guerrillas of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) as a "legitimate political force," *La Prensa's* coverage was designed to leave the impression that the countries supporting that proposal were few and isolated. (Nicaragua was one of them.) The paper's September 3 issue carried no fewer than five separate articles criticizing France and Mexico.

## Lively debate in press

As noted earlier, Nicaragua may have the freest press in the world. However, there are certain restrictions. It is forbidden, for example, to exploit women in advertising, or to exploit religious holidays, such as Christmas, or national holidays for commercial purposes.

News media have the responsibility to make sure that what they print or broadcast is accurate. This understandably brings protests from the millionaire press lords of the United States, who have made their fortunes by printing lies and then denyings they have anything to do with what appears in their columns.

Media are also forbidden to publish or broadcast stories that might create financial or economic panic. Certain stories dealing with military matters must be cleared first with the Ministry of the Interior.

But within these rather broad limits, intense and vigorous political debate takes place in the press.

To give a recent example: in early December, an upsurge in counterrevolutionary terrorist violence left more than twenty Nicaraguans dead. The terrorists carried out a series of robberies and assaults in rural zones.

These groups were referred to by *La Prensa* as "armed opposition groups," thus making them sound practically legal — little different from the opposition political parties that operate in Nicaragua.

*Barricada*, the FSLN daily, immediately demanded that *La Prensa* clarify its views. The groups, *Barricada* insisted, were counterrevolutionary terrorists and hence "enemies of the people," not "oppositionists," armed or unarmed.

For several days, *Barricada* ran editorials demanding a response, and the

paper also ran a series recalling some of the outrages committed by counterrevolutionaries during the year.

*La Prensa* responded a few days later. As its defense, the paper claimed that it had used the term "armed opposition groups" only once, in a picture caption, and that the term did not really reflect what they thought.

*Barricada* responded again, reproducing an article from *La Prensa* in which the term "armed opposition groups" appeared several times.

## Not the same 'La Prensa'

During the Somoza dictatorship, *La Prensa* was the target of bombing attacks, censorship, and other harassment. In June 1979, just a month before the revolution, the paper's plant suffered heavy damage from a National Guard attack. It was put out of commission for several months.

Because of its courageous role in opposing Somoza, *La Prensa* won many readers in Nicaragua and a worldwide reputation for honesty. It was the only legal opposition voice for years. Its publisher, Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, was murdered by Somozaists in January 1978, an act which set off nationwide rebellions and is generally viewed as the beginning of the end for Somoza.

But the *La Prensa* of the prerevolution period is not the *La Prensa* of today. Only the name and some of the top officers remain the same.

In April 1980, angered at the paper's

increasingly rightward political course, a big majority of the staff — reporters, photographers, and editors — walked out. Many of them joined in starting a new paper, *El Nuevo Diario*. Among those who left was Xavier Chamorro, the slain publisher's brother. The current editor of *La Prensa* is one of Pedro Joaquín Chamorro's sons, while a second son edits *Barricada*.

Many of the journalists who left *La Prensa* in 1980 or earlier now work for *Barricada*, other news media, or the government. So it is really *El Nuevo Diario* and *Barricada* that are the inheritors of the old *La Prensa's* tradition of fighting journalism.

## A sensationalist rag

Many people continue to read *La Prensa* today in Nicaragua, even though they may not agree with the paper's politics. Just as in other countries, people read a newspaper for a variety of reasons, ranging from looking at the advertising to reading the sports pages.

*La Prensa* also consciously appeals to readers with a taste for the sensational. The paper holds the Nicaraguan monopoly on stories of the kind featured in the U.S. *National Enquirer* or Rupert Murdoch's *London Sun*. Recent examples include the ones about the chicken with four legs, the tomato with the human face, or the rock with the image of the Virgin Mary on it.

In any case, the U.S. government and

the U.S. big-business media are hardly in a position to criticize alleged press freedom violations in Nicaragua. Under regimes allied to Washington throughout Latin America, from Chile and Argentina to Guatemala and El Salvador, journalists are routinely kidnapped and murdered, and newspaper offices attacked and bombed. And where was Washington when the late Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat closed down six papers last September?

The Sandinista revolution has found so far that it can live with *La Prensa's* constant provocations and open alignment with Nicaragua's enemies. But there are limits.

"They can have their press, their radio, their parties, their farms, their Robelos, their Estéban González [right-wing political figures]. That doesn't bother us," said Commander of the Revolution Jaime Wheelock in a speech last November 30.

"What we are going to make sure of is that those parties will not be allowed to stand in the way of the revolution. They cannot roll it back, because this revolution is the culmination of hundreds of years of struggle by the Nicaraguans, and we intend to survive for a long time. They can have the crumbs to play with, but they are not going to get their hands on the cake."

And that is precisely what the owners and supporters of *La Prensa* do not like.

From Intercontinental Press

## U.S. calls French aid 'a slap in the face'

In a move described by high Pentagon officials as a "slap in the face," the French government made known January 7 that it will sell \$15.8 million in military equipment to Nicaragua.

The sale, announced the same day that U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger was meeting in Washington with his French counterpart, involves two patrol boats, two military helicopters, and fifteen trucks. France has also agreed to provide training for twenty Nicaraguan pilots and technicians.

Washington has repeatedly denounced Nicaragua's efforts to strengthen its defenses as an unwarranted military buildup. Secretary of State Haig has even accused the Sandinistas

of seeking to transform their country into "a platform of terror and war."

In fact, as French Defense Minister Charles Hernu pointed out to reporters during his visit to the U.S. capital, the equipment being sold to Nicaragua is "absolutely not offensive" in character.

A French foreign ministry official quoted in the January 9 *New York Times* asserted that "The United States should be grateful to France" for enabling Nicaragua to avoid relying "entirely on Cuba and the Soviet Union to supply its defense needs."

But what really makes Washington so "extremely disappointed" (in the words of Weinberger) about the French military aid is that the Sandinistas are pre-

paring to defend their revolution at all.

Any such aid — no matter what the source — only complicates the counterrevolutionary plans of U.S. imperialism in Central America. And when the aid comes from a U.S. ally like France, it helps undercut Washington's campaign to isolate Nicaragua politically and exposes the lie about "Cuban and Soviet domination" that Washington uses as a pretext for its belligerent moves.

In a January 10 statement, the Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry responded to Washington's objections to the French arms agreement. It accused the U.S. government of trying "to deny Nicaragua its sovereign right to take the measures necessary to strengthen its capacity for defense."

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# In Grenada, the rights of women advance with the revolution

BY PAT KANE

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada — "Anyone who wants to underestimate the women of Grenada, will have to think again. We are the most kind-hearted women in the Caribbean — but when our revolution is threatened, we can be the most tenacious and warlike women in the Caribbean."

Seven thousand revolutionary women of Grenada cheered Patsy Romain, a leader of the National Women's Organization (NWO), when she reminded them of the need to defend their revolution against the increasing attacks of the United States government.

Romain continued, "We don't want to frighten anyone, but we're building a new kind of democracy, a people's democracy, and we are prepared to defend our democracy, our freedom, and our revolution."

## Growth of NWO

The NWO rally, held here on Sunday, December 6, was the highlight of a year of spectacular growth in the self-organization of Grenadian women. The NWO has grown from 1,500 members in January 1981, to 6,500 members — out of a total population of only 110,000. The NWO now actively organizes 27 percent of Grenadian women. In 1979, the NWO had only 120 members, in six groups. Now they have 168 groups, and the NWO is active in every town and village across the island.

The growth of the NWO is yet another sign of the mobilization of the Grenadian people in their own democratic mass organizations. Like the other Grenadian organizations, the NWO is an activists' organization, participating in every aspect of the revolutionary process.

The tasks facing women in Grenada are huge. Before the revolution women were superexploited, and jobs were given in return for sexual favors. The secret police and thugs of the old Eric Gairy dictatorship regularly abused young women. The revolution put a stop to those atrocities. Right from the first day, the revolutionary government made a positive effort to involve women and youth in the process of creating a new society.

One of the first acts of the new government was to ensure equal rights for women under the law. It is nearly ten years that the Equal Rights Amendment has been before state legislatures in the United States, and it has not been passed. Nor do the U.S. rulers have any intention of approving any such recognition of women's rights.

It took years of struggle to obtain the Sex Discrimination Act in Britain, and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is doing everything possible to undermine it and drive women back into the home.

Yet the revolutionary government of Grenada outlawed discrimination, and also guaranteed rights to paid maternity leave and equal pay, within months of the revolution. It has carried out a nationwide discussion about the role of women in the revolutionary process. It is from these beginnings that the NWO has grown into the largest and most militant women's organization in the English-speaking East Caribbean.

## Grounds for optimism

Phyllis Coard, secretary for women's affairs in the government and NWO national coordinator, outlined to the rally the problems, goals, and achievements of the NWO. Honesty is characteristic of the leadership of this revolution, and Coard did not try to hide any of the problems facing the women of Grenada. But she also explained why there are grounds for optimism.

"What we see at this rally," she said, "is that women have been stepping forward in 1981 in terms of consciousness and commitment to the cause of defending our revolution and country. We see thousands of sisters from the trade

unions, and in numbers too large to ignore, the 6,500 members of the NWO.

"As we look around we also see a large number of brothers, and this pleases us very much, because it shows us that the brothers of revolutionary Grenada do not see our women's movement as something which threatens their lives. Our brothers see correctly that the movement of our women is part of the movement of all our people in this society. We must understand that all over the world, people have been denied any form of power over their lives or countries.

"Today we see a movement of our people which has power — power to construct our own organizations for all our working people. We can see our women playing a deeper and more equal role in society.

## Big challenges facing women

"We realize that our struggle has only just begun. We have moved forward, but we have problems. Right now here in Grenada, forty-five out of every 100 workers are women, and there are nearly 12,000 children and babies under five years old. Our eleven nurseries can hardly accommodate more than 400 children. Our preprimary schools can only supervise children from 9:00 a.m. until 2:30 p.m. This is a highly dangerous situation to have our children unattended, because our children are the flower and future of our revolution.

"This year, the NWO, together with our brothers in community work brigades, have built with our own hands and voluntary labor seven preprimary schools and one nursery. Yet we know and recognize the inadequacy of what we have done. We know that we have to push forward, but we also know the economic situation which makes it difficult to build the large nurseries that we so desperately need.

"Unemployment amongst women is serious also. At this time 5,400 women and 4,100 men are without work. Fifty-seven percent of all our unemployed are women. Mostly these are women with young children. This year we were able to create three women's cooperatives for furniture-making, a bakery, and for preparing currants for cakes. But this is a tiny beginning, and we must step up our cooperative movement in the coming year.

## Political understanding

"Our other task for 1982 that we women will have to face energetically is education. Only an educated and developed people can build an educated and developed nation. Despite the success of the first literacy campaign, more women than men are still illiterate, and undereducated. We must ensure that in 1982, every woman steps up seriously on the path to full education.

"But book learning without political understanding leads us nowhere. We all need to understand the history of our country, its economy, how and why it is that we are underdeveloped, and how we get out of the trap of underdevelopment. Every woman must understand the international situation. We need, as women throughout Grenada, to educate ourselves politically and socially."

Many international guests attended the rally. Women came from Cuba, the German Democratic Republic, and from every Caribbean island. Coard also discussed the international situation of women.

## International solidarity

"Let us never forget," she said, "the millions of women throughout the world who live in far worse conditions than we have, especially those struggling for their freedom and independence. We think of our sisters in Latin America, especially in Uruguay and Paraguay, and of course that most horrible dictatorship in Chile.

"We think of our sisters in South Africa and Namibia, living in fear and every day brutalized and tortured by the racist police of South Africa. Our sisters in Angola are daily being attacked by that same racist regime. We think of our sisters in Palestine and Lebanon being bombed every day by the Israelis, with the backing of U.S. imperialism. Most of all, we think of our sisters and brothers in El Salvador who are so near to victory. We think also of our sister country of Nicaragua, right now facing the threat of intervention by the United States, whose aim is to crush both Nicaragua and El Salvador at one time!

## 'We are certain of victory'

"Let us remember how strong the progressive forces have become over the last ten years. Dozens of countries have escaped from imperialism. We also must realize that the women of Europe, east and west, are struggling against the placing of missiles on their territory by

the United States.

"We as women must be confident of victory, and we must be prepared to struggle increasingly. The movement of history is forward, not backward. And we are part of that forward movement. We are certain of victory for all the people of the world. We must be ready to confront the warmongers, and the cowboys of the world, and demand that their aggression stop. We as women want a peaceful future for our children and we are ready to fight for it."

The women of Grenada, encouraged by the positive action of their government and the strength of their organization, are now stepping forward to assume their rightful place in the revolution. In the militia and army, the unions and other mass organizations, and in the government ministries and bureaus, women are playing a leading part in creating a new and free Grenada.

From Intercontinental Press



Phyllis Coard, secretary for women's affairs in Grenada's revolutionary government.

## Nightriders hit socialist offices

BY ANDY ROSE

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — Prominent civil rights leaders, joined by Birmingham Mayor Richard Arrington, have condemned the vandalizing of Pathfinder Bookstore here as a "cowardly night-riding attack" and "an affront to all those who cherish the constitutionally guaranteed right of free speech."

On the night of January 16, one front display window was smashed at the bookstore, which also serves as headquarters for the Birmingham Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. A bullet, tentatively identified by police as .32 caliber, was fired through the other front window.

If anyone had been in the bookstore at the time, they could have been seriously injured or even killed.

A poster publicizing the January 15 Martin Luther King Day march in Washington, D.C., was featured in the window that was destroyed. Leaflets for King Day commemorations in Birmingham were posted in the window damaged by gunfire.

A statement protesting the attack has been signed by Mayor Arrington; Joseph Lowery, national president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); Birmingham SCLC Presi-

dent Abraham Woods; Rev. Vincent Provitt, president of the Birmingham Baptist Ministers Conference; Scott Douglas of the Birmingham Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; and others.

As soon as the damage was discovered on Sunday morning, January 17, socialists notified police and began contacting civil rights groups to learn if any others connected with Martin Luther King events had suffered similar violence.

That evening, at the invitation of local SCLC President Woods, Martin Boyers of the Young Socialist Alliance reported on the attack to a rally of 400 people at New Pilgrim Baptist Church. The rally was the major King birthday observance in Birmingham.

The crowd was visibly shocked to hear, as Rev. Woods expressed it, that in 1982 a window would be smashed for displaying a picture of Martin Luther King.

Shouts of approval greeted Boyers' statement that the attack "is a clear threat to all those who are trying to make Dr. King's dream a reality."

The next morning's Birmingham *Post-Herald* featured on page three a report on the attack and a large photo of Pathfinder Bookstore.





Intercontinental Press/Matilde Zimmermann  
FSLN leader Dora María Téllez helped to organize removal of right-wing guards who fired on unarmed crowd.

# Masses in Nicaragua protest armed attack by 'La Prensa' guards

'It reminded me of the times of Somoza'

BY MATILDE ZIMMERMANN

MANAGUA — Private guards at the offices of the right-wing daily *La Prensa* here fired into a crowd of unarmed demonstrators on the evening of January 13, seriously wounding one protester and a television cameraman.

Several hours later, a crowd of nearly 1,000 was still gathered outside the newspaper's offices. Bonfires of old tires were burning in the streets, and demands for confiscation of the daily had been painted on one wall of the building.

Using the blood of those wounded, demonstrators had written on a shed the Sandinista slogan, "Patria libre o morir" (Free homeland or death).

A young demonstrator described what had happened at about 6 p.m., after he and some 300 others had marched over to the newspaper from the Eastern Market to protest *La Prensa's* most recent attacks on the revolution.

## Reminder of Somoza's time

"We were standing here, shouting slogans like 'People's power!' when a guard turned a firehose on us. We moved back to about where we are standing now, still chanting. Suddenly we heard shots. We assumed he was shooting in the air and went on chanting, until we saw that a compañero was wounded. Then we threw ourselves on the ground. But we kept shouting revolutionary slogans."

It had been more than two and a half years since anyone in Nicaragua had fired into a crowd of peaceful demonstrators. "It reminded me of the times of Somoza," said one of those wounded, "when the genocidal National Guard would fire indiscriminately against the people."

Units from State Security, along with FSLN leader Dora María Téllez, arrived shortly after the shootings. They reestablished order and removed the guards and those members of the newspaper staff who were inside the building.

Two guards were placed under arrest, as was one of *La Prensa's* editors, Mario Alfaro Alvarado. Alfaro is a leader of the right-wing Social Democratic Party.

A woman of about forty, a member of the Association of Nicaraguan Women (AMNLAE), explained the protest to us. People were angry, she said, about *La Prensa's* failure to condemn a recently uncovered plot to blow up Nicaragua's only oil refinery and only cement plant. "For a while now, the people have been asking the national leadership and the Government of National Reconstruction to put a stop to all this. The people cannot take any more. We have had it."

## All-night protest

Everyone we talked to thought *La Prensa* should be confiscated. But several pointed out that they did not want the paper closed down entirely. "It has to be changed into a paper that serves the people," said a young man named José, "to what it was like before the insurrection."

Some protesters remained outside *La Prensa* all night, and the following day, January 14, further demonstrations were held in Managua and other cities. Throughout the afternoon and evening, contingents of market workers, students, women, and Sandinista Defense

Committee (CDS) members from various Managua neighborhoods marched to *La Prensa* and demonstrated outside.

Several thousand members of the Sandinista Workers federation (CST) recessed their regional assembly to join the protests. They marched first to the house of *La Prensa* General Manager Jaime Chamorro, and then eight kilometers to the newspaper offices.

There were also angry protests against the shootings in the cities of Masaya, Estelí, León, and Granada.

On January 14 the editorial board of *La Prensa* decided — in light of the situation — to suspend publication "for as long as seems prudent." The newspaper's directors said they expected to publish on January 17.

## Mounting anger

Even before the shootings at *La Prensa*, anger was mounting against the newspaper and the conservative business interests for which it speaks.

The capitalists, their political parties, and *La Prensa* are linked in the minds of many Nicaraguans with the counterrevolutionary terrorists that have recently stepped up activity inside and outside the country.

During the first week of January, a commando squad belonging to a counterrevolutionary exile group, the Nicaraguan Democratic Union (UDN), was captured with dynamite and plans to blow up the Esso oil refinery and the nationalized cement factory outside Managua.

The consequences of destroying Nicaragua's only oil refinery and only cement plant would have been catastrophic. Hundreds, or even thousands, of persons might have died in an explosion at the refinery, which is located at the western edge of the capital. Immediate fuel shortages would have forced factories to close, halted public transportation, and caused the loss of much of the cotton and sugar harvests. Destruction of the cement plant would have brought many public-works projects to a standstill, delaying reconstruction and throwing thousands of laborers out of work.

## Friends of 'La Prensa' in bomb plot

The Ministry of the Interior presented its evidence against the UDN commandos on January 12. It also revealed the involvement of several Venezuelan diplomats and Honduran nationals in the sabotage plot.

UDN leaders have often been praised in the pages of *La Prensa*. A former member of the paper's editorial board, Adriana Guillén, has been serving for several months as the UDN's press representative in Costa Rica.

Hence the right-wing daily buried the news of the plot to blow up the refinery on its inside pages. Emblazoned on the front page, however, was a big story alleging that a rock had been thrown through a second-story window at the headquarters of the right-wing parties.

Anger against *La Prensa* and the parties it represents was also fueled when the paper printed a telegram to the French government protesting the latter's agreement to sell military matériel to Nicaragua (see page 11).

The protest telegram was signed by

the president of the Democratic Conservative Party (PCD), Donald Lacayo. Demonstrations have been held to demand that Lacayo be expelled from the Council of State — a body that his party has in any case been boycotting for more than a year.

Lacayo is the sales manager for the Coca-Cola bottling plant here, but he is not going to work these days. At a union meeting January 14 the workers at Coca-Cola voted not to allow Lacayo on the premises. Workers from eight other industrial plants demonstrated outside Coca-Cola to show their support for the union's decision.

## 'Down with Sandino-communism!'

The January 13 shootings outside *La Prensa* marked the second time in four days that procapitalist elements had provoked violent confrontations with forces supporting the Sandinista revolution.

On January 10, an antigovernment march and rally ended in a shouting match and showers of rocks. The police had to escort right-wing politicians away from the rally site in order to protect them from an angry crowd.

That march was sponsored by a recently formed bloc of all the anti-Sandinista parties, the Democratic Coordinating Committee (CD). Five antigovernment parties mobilized their forces from around the country, bringing in delegations from all the major cities in western Nicaragua. About 2,500 persons attended.

In the weeks leading up to the action,

CD president Alfonso Robelo insisted over and over that the march was to be a purely "civic" affair with no political overtones — a respectful commemoration of the assassination of *La Prensa's* anti-Somoza publisher Pedro Joaquín Chamorro in January 1978.

But once the march began there was nothing apolitical about the slogans being shouted by the demonstrators. "Russian beasts — out of Nicaragua!" they cried. "Fidel Castro — out of Nicaragua!" "Down with Sandinista mobs!" And even, "Down with Sandino-communism!" — the battle cry of the Somozaists and their exile army of former National Guardsmen.

One well-dressed woman kept shouting at the top of her lungs, "Internationalists, get out!" To which her friends echoed, "Get out, get out!"

None of this was very popular with the residents of Menseñer Lezcano, a working-class neighborhood with a long revolutionary tradition, through which the demonstrators marched on their way to the cemetery where Pedro Joaquín Chamorro is buried. There were shouted exchanges of slogans along the march route, and at the cemetery a shoving match and then fights broke out as Sandinista youth shouted, "People's power!" and "People, army, unity!"

When the police tried to restore order, the right-wingers began pelting them with rocks. Several police were injured but the rest managed to stop the fights and make it possible for the right-wingers to leave safely.

From Intercontinental Press

# Armed camp in California trains rightist Cuban, Nicaraguan exiles

BY MARGARET JAYKO

"The slogan!" barked an instructor.

"Death to communism!" they replied.

They refers to right-wing Cuban and Nicaraguan exiles who are receiving paramilitary training in a remote base about two hours away from Los Angeles, according to a report in the January 11 *San Diego Union*.

Their goal is the same as that of at least several hundred other exiles who are training in camps in Florida and other parts of the United States — to overthrow the popular governments of Cuba and Nicaragua.

The camp in California was first made public in November, when a Los Angeles television crew was allowed to tape the training of "commandos."

At the beginning of January, the press was invited to watch them train.

This camp is owned and operated by Alpha 66, a twenty-year-old, anti-Castro Cuban terrorist group, which is responsible for widespread acts of violence against the Cuban people.

Groups like Alpha 66 are also responsible for violent attacks on progressive groups in this country. Their past collaboration with the CIA is well-established.

What has been the response of the "authorities" to this blatant violation of U.S. neutrality laws?

The police department that has juris-

diction over the area where the camp is located says that it is "very much aware" of what's going on.

A spokesman for the Justice Department commented, "For a group to get together and put on fatigues and run double time, per se, is not illegal. You can call it paramilitary training or what have you. Boy Scouts do that."

And the State Department?

Their view was explained last year by Thomas Enders, an assistant secretary of state. He said that the exiles were not breaking the law "as long as they don't hurt anybody and as long as they don't actually conspire to invade in a specific way."

In other words, they have the green light from Washington to do whatever they please!

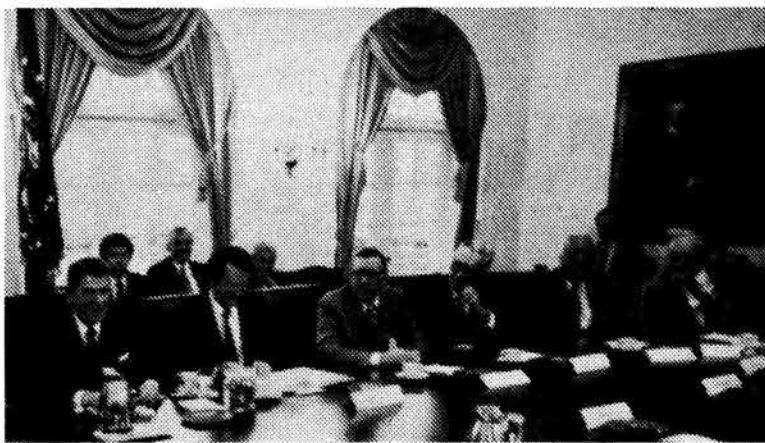
What hypocrisy!

In the wake of the recent Brinks robbery in Nyack, New York, Black activists are being rounded up and branded as "terrorists" without the slightest shred of evidence.

What makes these exile groups "legal" is that they are part of Washington's military preparations against the revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean.

The very existence of these armed camps is a threat to the democratic rights of the majority of people in this country who are opposed to Washington's war plans.





Reagan, Labor Secretary Raymond Donovan, Teamster President Roy Williams, and three Teamster vice presidents, including Harold Gibbons at right.

## 'As reasonable as conditions will permit'

The trucking industry, with the help of its friends Ronald Reagan and Teamsters union President Roy Williams, forced the reopening of the Master Freight Agreement three months early and won important wage, work-rule, and benefit concessions from truck drivers and warehouse workers.

In order to sell the contract to union members, Williams and the main industry group, Trucking Management Inc., are claiming the concessions will save jobs. But the work-rule concessions will immediately eliminate more jobs. Workers organized under the Master

Freight Agreement have lost 120,000 jobs just in the last year.

The new contract requires over-the-road drivers to also make in-city deliveries. This will lead to further cuts in the number of jobs at local terminals and by delivery drivers.

Williams also agreed to a wage freeze, lower starting pay for new workers, cuts in pensions, and use of part or all of the cost-of-living allowance to pay for medical benefits.

Williams met with Ronald Reagan just before the new contract negotiations began. When he left the White House, he told reporters he had promised that the union contract demands would be "as reasonable as conditions will permit."

Since the trucking industry was deregulated under Presi-

dent Carter, nonunion companies have been grabbing an increasing amount of business.

The union has devoted its efforts to trying to help the union-organized companies, instead of trying to organize nonunion drivers.

The basic strength of the Teamsters union has been the over-the-road drivers. Increasing unemployment and now contract concessions greatly weaken the union.

## A bright note to relieve the gloom

The American labor movement is in a deep crisis. Union leaders are accepting givebacks in the name of their members. This is more extensive than you would realize just from the newspaper coverage.

The better-known givebacks have been from the auto workers, public workers, steel, rubber, Teamsters, airlines, and railroads.

The following is a partial list of other unions that have given up contract gains in the last few months: Clothing and Textile Workers, Ladies' Garment Workers, Carpenters and Joiners, Sheet Metal Workers, Paperworkers, Food and Commercial Workers, Pottery Workers, Cement Workers, Flint Glass Workers, Electrical Workers (IUE and IBEW), Operating En-

gineers, Laborers, Bricklayers, Plumbers, Machinists, and Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers.

You may be wondering why this item is headed something about a "bright note."

Bricklayers Local 3 held a meeting December 2 in Phoenix. Union officials had secretly negotiated a contract with the Arizona Masonry Contractors Association to reduce wages 25 percent, "to offset competition from nonunion labor and non-masonry construction."

More than 500 of the 800 members of the local are out of work. But the wage cut did not seem like a way to save jobs.

A bricklayer described the meeting: "At one point during the meeting, a motion was made to tear up the new contract. . . . The motion was seconded, and by a voice vote, the membership concurred unanimously." A bricklayer then went to the podium, grabbed the contract and tore it to pieces.

The members asked Local 3 Business Manager Paul McElroy if he thought he did an honorable thing in signing the contract. "He said he did."

## Wage hike, income loss

The *Tropical Letter Carrier* is the paper of Local 1081 of the National Association of Letter Carriers in Miami. Norman

Blanco, the editor, did some interesting calculations in his column in the December issue.

He estimated that the pay raise in the contract postal workers won last summer comes to \$480 a year after taxes. But he points out that Reagan cut health insurance benefits for government workers. Emergency room treatment and diagnostic exams are not fully covered. Instead of 80 percent, the cuts mean 75 percent of other medical bills will be covered.

Based on estimates for yearly hospital and doctor costs for a family of three, Blanco figured that postal workers will lose \$692.50 a year from the benefit cuts.

So, with the \$480 contract hike, they will still end up with a net loss of \$212.50.

## What is a contract worth?

World Airways filed suit in federal court against the Teamsters because the union refuses to reopen its contract with the airline before it expires.

The suit seeks damages from the Teamsters for losses the airline suffers from having to work under the existing contract.

World Airways is demanding 10-20 percent wage cuts. The Teamsters represent about 1,500 workers, including pilots, flight attendants, and mechanics.

— STU SINGER

# Copper barons shut mines, evict miners from homes

BY DAN FEIN  
AND JILL FEIN

TUCSON, Ariz. — The copper barons are shutting their mines, complaining that copper prices are lower than production costs. To make sure that everyone gets the picture, laid off miners and their families are being thrown out of their homes.

In Arizona, 13,000 copper miners are laid off. Another 13,000 are out of work in the other western states.

Most of the layoffs are supposed to be temporary, but no one knows how long they will last.

It was at Silver Bell that the brutality of the companies showed itself the clearest. The mine, about forty miles northwest of Tucson, is owned by Asarco. Until about a month ago it employed 240 miners. Eighty families lived in company-owned houses nearby, where there was also a company store. In mid-December the mine was closed and all the workers with fifteen years or less seniority were told to get out of their houses by February 28. The company store was closed January 4.

Only about five of the eighty families will be allowed to stay in their homes.

A company official told the *Wall Street Journal* that it is in the workers' "best interest" to move out of Silver Bell and into cities like Tucson where more jobs are available. "The faster they get out into the mainstream, the better they'll be," James G. Moore, the Asarco industrial relations official said.

About 200 of the 240 workers are members of United Steelworkers Local 13886. This is a relatively high percentage in this "right-to-work" state. And, unlike most other Arizona copper mines, the Steelworkers are the only union at Silver Bell. Usually the work force is broken up among five different unions.

We went to Silver Bell on New Year's Day to find out more.

Robert Lester was a diesel mechanic at the mine. He worked there nine years. He and his wife and eleven children live in a section of a run down, bar-

racks-like building owned by Asarco. They pay \$130 a month. Now they have to get out.

How much is he making since the mine closed? State unemployment compensation pays \$95 a week and the Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB) fund the union won from the company is \$50 a week. But the SUB pay will only last thirteen weeks.

What will he do now?

"I don't know. Maybe go to Texas. There aren't any mines in Arizona that are hiring. Places won't rent to us with eleven kids and I don't have the money to buy a place. Everything I've got I need to find another job."

Will the Silver Bell mine ever reopen? "Not before 1983. Ninety percent of the guys here think they'll pull another Pima."

In 1977 the Pima copper mine was shut down in the midst of contract negotiations. The company kept on a skeleton crew which they convinced to vote to decertify the union. The mine reopened a year later and has been a scab operation ever since.

Lester told us that he and other miners feel that Silver Bell may remain closed until after the next copper contract in a year and a half. "Then they can reopen nonunion."

Local 13886 President Ben Barela told us a few days later that he also thought the shutdown was preparation to attack the union. "The union will be in a weak position when the mine reopens."

In mid-January, the public outrage over evicting miners from their homes won a partial retreat from the company. Those miners with children in school will be allowed to stay until the end of the school year.

*Dan Fein is a member of Steelworkers Local 7508 at Pennzoil's Duval copper mine in Green Valley, Arizona, south of Tucson. He is one of 1,500 miners laid off since mid-December.*

*Jill Fein is a member of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks on the Southern Pacific Railroad.*



Silver Bell miners and family. Asarco spokesman claimed company is doing miners a favor by evicting them from homes.

## San Jose nurses demand equal pay

BY MARGARET JAYKO

Once again, working people in San Jose, California, are striking to demand that women in jobs similar to men's be paid the same.

Last July, it was the city workers who struck — and won. Now, it's 1,500 nurses at four hospitals. They are members of the California Nurses Association (CNA).

On January 4, 625 nurses struck the Good Samaritan and O'Connor hospitals for pay parity with pharmacists and other predominantly male job categories.

Two weeks later, on January 16, 550 strikers threw up picket lines as the morning shift started at San Jose Community and Alexian Brothers hospitals. The nurses had rejected the hospitals' offer of a 7 percent wage increase for the first year of a proposed contract.

CNA spokeswoman Maxine Jenkins said the nurses want an immediate 23 percent wage increase to achieve parity with predominantly male hospital pro-

fessions. She said registered nurses in Santa Clara County earn about \$23,000 a year, while pharmacists, most of whom are male, earn \$33,000.

The CNA is also demanding that nurses who substitute for regular nurses on sick or vacation leave be included in the bargaining unit.

A victory had been won on the same issue at the end of last year in San Francisco by the Department Store Employees Union Local 1100 against Macy's.

Workers in Macy's men's departments had a higher rate of pay and commissions than the workers at Macy's women's clothing shop.

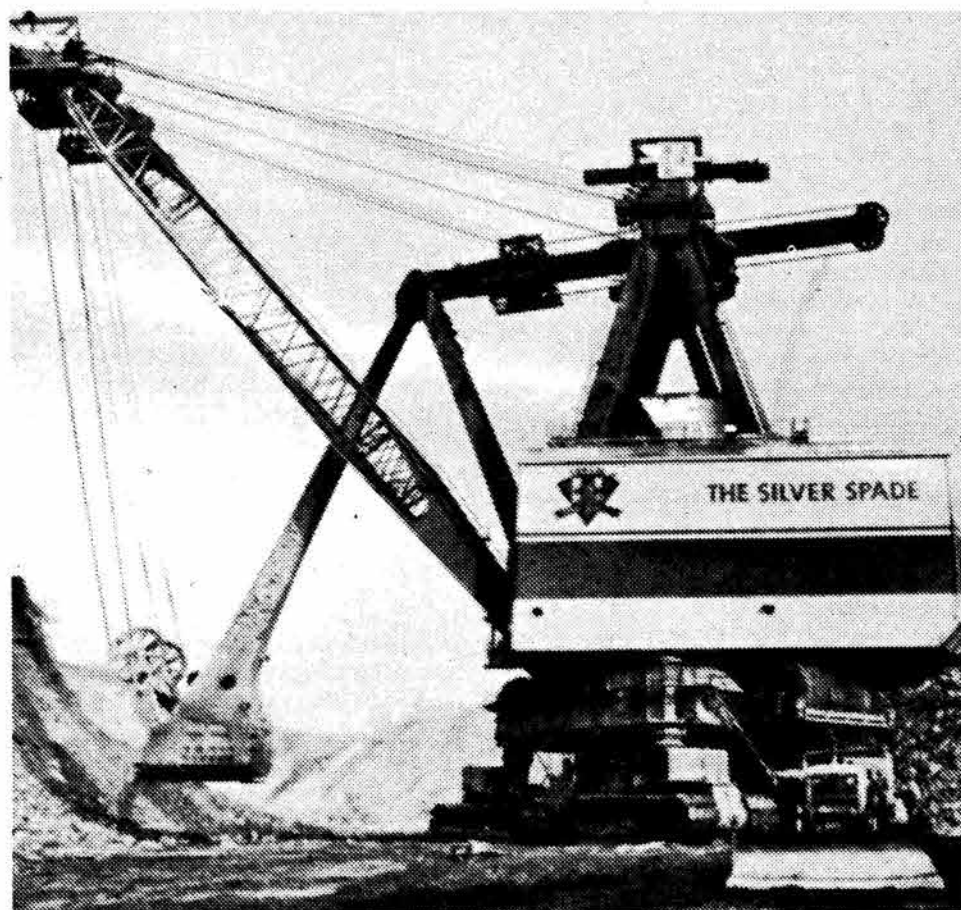
Macy's was ordered by the arbitrator to reclassify the women's shop employees at a higher pay scale, and to pay past and present workers the higher commission rate.

Local 1100 President Walter Johnson commented that the victory "gives new hope to all those seeking equal rights in the workplace."



# Who owns the land in the United States?

## Rise and development of private landownership in American history



Federal lands are leased for a song to big oil, mining, and timber corporations by U.S. government.

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

The current crisis confronting farmers is once again putting a spotlight on a key economic question, land ownership. Although the evolution and forms of landed property has been a central issue in American history since colonial days, most people know little about it. This article will review a few basic facts.

Until the arrival of the Europeans, the concept of private ownership of land was unknown in what is now the United States. It never occurred to the Native Americans that land could be anything but the collective property of the tribe. This was not a peculiarity of Native American society, it was a universal fact of all human societies until a few thousand years ago. In the formation of class society, private ownership of land was one of the last forms of private property to emerge.

### Landed property in the colonies

By the time America began to be colonized, the European countries that most settlers came from had developed private ownership in land to the highest degree. Land was owned by a class of aristocratic landowners.

During the transition from feudalism to capitalism, the concept of the feudal contract between the lord and his tenant serfs had been replaced by the modern concept of private property in land. Unlike feudal times, the landlords were free to drive tenants off the land if they found it profitable to do so. Without this transformation in landed property the modern working class would not have been created and capitalism could not have arisen.

The European system of landed property, however, could not easily take root in the North American colonies. Land was available in almost unlimited amounts, once the Native American population was driven out. Attempts to set up large landed estates — on the European model — in North America, therefore, met with relatively little success. The same forces that undermined attempts to establish large scale estates, however, created the conditions for the genocide of the Native American population. They also led to those features of the American social structure that differentiated it from the European.

Because land was easy to obtain, wage labor was relatively scarce and consequently wages were higher than in Europe. This encouraged the use of semislave and slave labor in the colonies. The demand for African slaves and their status as a pariah class in the

"land of the free" has its origins in the great abundance of almost free land.

As the United States developed and white settlers pushed westward, the conditions of free land (and war against the Native Americans) were continually reproduced on what became known as the frontier.

The competition for land between the working farmers and the slavocracy led to the rise of the Free Soil Party in the 1840s. Following the bloody war between the working farmers and the slave owners in the Kansas-Nebraska territory in the early 1850s, larger numbers of working farmers finally broke with the slave-owner-dominated Democratic Party. The Free Soilers merged with abolitionists and others to form the Republican Party. The election of its candidate, Abraham Lincoln, for president in 1860 precipitated the secession of the slave states from the union that led to the Civil War.

In order to cement the support of the workers and working farmers in the struggle against the slavocracy, the Republican-dominated Congress passed the Homestead Act in 1862. Under the terms of this act any person who was twenty-one, the head of a family, and was, or intended to become, a U.S. citizen could acquire 160 acres of land from the government simply by living on it for five years.

As big capitalist interests took firm

control of the federal government from the slave owners under the Republican regime, they used the government to seize huge amounts of land. The Union Pacific and Central Pacific of California obtained title to the land for twenty miles on either side of their tracks. Other railroads received forty miles of land on either side of their tracks in the territories and twenty miles in the states.

The railroads encouraged settlement on the western lands in turn in order to build a base for their business. Homesteaders were transported to the West very cheaply by the roads. In years to come the homesteaders paid the railroads back many times through monopoly rates. The difficult conditions for the homesteaders led many to sell their lands to speculators. Others lost them to banks for failure to meet mortgage payments.

### Landed property today

What are the forms of landed property that prevail in the United States today? There are about 2,264 million acres of land surface in the United States. Of these only 51 million, about 2 percent of the total, are still held by Native Americans — mostly as reservations. This figure graphically illustrates the extent of the destruction of Native American society.

The federal government today holds about 761 million acres, about 34 percent of the total. State and local governments own an additional 136 million or about 6 percent of the total.

But instead of benefiting the majority of Americans, large portions of these public lands are exploited profitably by big business. The way James Watt's Department of the Interior has leased land to oil and coal corporations illustrates this point. Big timber and paper companies like Weyerhaeuser also profit from the use of public lands. The capitalist state allows these corporate interests to keep the lion's share of the surplus profits that arise from the exploitation of land rich in natural resources.

### Privately owned land

There are about 29 million landowners in the United States today, excluding the owners of the tiny plots that surround private homes. However the vast majority of these landowners hold only very small amounts.

Half the privately owned land is held by one percent of the total number of landowners. Or looking at it from another angle, 75 percent of the landowners hold 3 percent of the privately owned land.

### Farm land

In farming, landownership is somewhat less concentrated. This reflects the continued survival of the family farm. However, even here concentration is

considerable. The top one percent of the owners of farm and ranch land hold about 29 percent of the total. Though farm and ranch land is divided into about 6.2 million ownership units, the majority of these — about 57 percent — are less than fifty acres. Ninety-four percent are less than 400 acres.

Also a great deal of farmland is owned by nonfarmers. For example, only about 56 percent of farm landowners described their profession as farming in the 1978 Economic, Statistics, and Cooperative Service (ESCS) landownership survey. Many landholders, including banks and corporations, rent their lands to farmers, who raise crops or livestock on it.

### An historic shift

In this century there has been a trend for more and more of the land that is farmed to be rented. By the beginning of the century 31 percent of all farmland was rented. By 1935 the amount of rented farmland had risen to 45 percent of the total. By 1981 the U.S. General Accounting Office reported that less than half of U.S. farmland is farmed by those who own it.

A detailed study by a Sioux City group found that in some of Iowa's richest farming counties, as much as 77 percent of the farmland was rented. According to the October 1981 *Wall Street Journal* former Secretary of Agriculture Robert Bergland remarked, "We have fewer landowners today than we've had in all history."

These figures do not take into account that much land, which is still nominally owned by working farmers, is heavily mortgaged. Under these circumstances nominal farmer landownership, where it still survives, is frequently a way of tightening the chains of debt slavery.

The magnates of the land in the United States do not form a separate landowning class like the aristocracy of Europe did. The landlords of the American type are capitalist speculators who buy and sell land much as they do stocks and bonds. In the last decade of currency crises and inflation, these speculators have driven the price of farmland to unprecedented peaks. Between 1968 and 1979 speculation drove the price of farmland up 300 percent.

Today the working farmer is being squeezed harder than any time since the early 1930s. The prices received for selling agricultural commodities are falling while the prices paid in order to live and farm are rising. Unprecedented interest rates cut deeply into the farmer's standard of living. And increasingly rent must be paid to an absentee speculator-landlord who cares nothing about the land. Private ownership of land, having been a tremendous stimulant for agricultural productivity for much of American history, is now becoming an obstacle to its further development.

## Land sharks force Black farmers off land

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

Since World War II there has been a dramatic decline in the number of Blacks involved in farming. Proportionately it has been greater than for whites.

As late as 1920 about half the Black population earned their living by farming compared to just under 30 percent of the white population. By 1979 the percentage of Blacks in farming had dropped to 1.1 percent of the Black population compared to 3.2 percent of the white population.

Since the bulk of the Black farmers were sharecroppers or other types of tenant farmers, the loss of land is not as great as these figures imply. To a great extent they represent Blacks seeking a better life as urban wage workers.

However, for those Blacks who did own land, many were driven off as the result of a racist institution called Heirs Property. It works like this.

During the reconstruction period following the Civil War, many former slaves were able to buy property and received land titles from the Freedman's Bureau. Most owners when they died didn't leave wills, and the land passed to the wife and children. Two or three generations later 100 people could be part owners of a farm of 100 acres. The Black farmer cannot sell the land or use the land for collateral for a loan unless he can round up the signatures of all these living heirs, something which in practice is usually impossible.

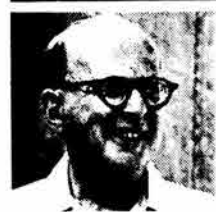
This system enables land speculators to purchase fractional interests in the farm from one of the heirs and then demand that this portion be partitioned off, breaking up the farm. The racist courts will then order a sale of the entire farm and a division of the proceeds. The white land speculator then can buy up the land for a song driving the Black farmer off the land.



Militant/Greg Cornell



**Perish the thought** — Ronald Glasser's book, *365 Days*, was banned by the Baileyville, Maine, school committee for four-letter words. The book is



Harry Ring

interviews with GIs critically wounded in Vietnam. The school committee head said the "obscenity" was unnecessary. "If I were a soldier lying in bed

and found my leg had been amputated," he opined, "I don't think I would use those words."

**Like a prescription** — With pills to protect against thyroid cancer being distributed wholesale to people who live near the Sequoyah nuclear plant in Tennessee, we were concerned about possible health hazards. But the tablets, for use in the event of a blowout, are to be taken only at the direction of the governor and state health commissioner.

**Some joke** — A reader sent an item about a *New Yorker* ad for a \$160,000 gold watch. We

tried hard to think of some sardonic comment. But the item arrived the day we read about Brooklyn school children disqualified for school lunch, with a distraught principal giving them leftovers from the plates of those still eligible. Truly, a great society.

**Pressed for cash** — Despite huge world holdings, the Vatican insists it's in hock, so much so that the pope is allowing one of his old plays to be staged in London to help the church's financial plight. The play gives the pope's views on marriage and the family. We thought it would be titled, "Barefoot and

Pregnant," but it isn't.

**Beginning at his beachfront?** — A Department of Energy "expert" recently called for increased pollution of the oceans. He said most laws on waste disposal protect the ocean at the expense of the land and this should be balanced.

**Suggestion dep't** — City officials in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, are considering spraying garbage cans with an offensive odor to discourage winter vagrants. The city attorney cautioned, however, that they

might get sued if a vagrant got sick after eating the sprayed garbage. Why not simply paste on the lid of each can pictures of the city fathers?

**Just doing what comes natural** — Former Gov. Marvin Mandel of Maryland, who was pardoned by Reagan after doing a brief stretch for mail fraud and racketeering, faces civil charges for removing state property when he left the governor's mansion. Items include a rolltop desk, silverware, 350 bottles of liquor, and \$489 worth of dog food.

## —CALENDAR—

### CALIFORNIA

#### Los Angeles

**Discussion of President Reagan's State of the Union Address.** Speaker: Dick Roberts, Socialist Workers Party and member of Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Local 1227. Sat., Jan. 30, 7:30 p.m. 2211 N. Broadway (near Broadway off-ramp on Golden State Freeway). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 225-3126.

#### San Diego

**Impact of Reagan's Policies.** Speakers: Ollie Bivens, National Black Independent Political Party, Los Angeles; others. Sat., Jan. 30, 7:30 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

### FLORIDA

#### Miami

**The Freedom Struggle in the Eighties.** Speaker: Patrick Baussan, Haitian activist. Fri., Jan. 29, 8 p.m. 1237 NW 119th St., North Miami. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 769-3478.

**Evolution vs. Creationism: Science and Social Change.** Speaker: Andrea Baron, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 5, 8 p.m. 1237 NW 119th St., North Miami. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 769-3478.

### ILLINOIS

#### Chicago

**Ten Days that Shook the World.** Film by Sergei Eisenstein. Discussion about *Reds*. Sat., Jan. 30, 7:30 p.m. 434 S. Wabash. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

### MASSACHUSETTS

#### Boston

**Science vs. Creationism.** Speakers: John Edmond, Professor of Oceanography, Massachusetts Institute of Technology and member of Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Jan. 31, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. (Kenmore

Square). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

### MICHIGAN

#### Detroit

**Stop U.S. War Moves.** Speakers: eyewitness reports from Cuba and El Salvador; Russ Belant, Committee Against Registration and the Draft. Sun., Jan. 31, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

### MINNESOTA

#### Twin Cities

**Revolution in Nicaragua: Eyewitness Account from Vernon Bellecourt.** Speakers: Vernon Bellecourt and Dick Bancroft, American Indian Movement. Sun., Jan. 24, 4 p.m. 508 N. Snelling, St. Paul. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

### MISSOURI

#### Kansas City

**Fares Go Up, Services Go Down: The Story of Public Transportation Today.** Speakers: Bud Munson, Kansas City Area Transit Authority; Otis Rusher, president, Amalgamated Transit Union Division 1287; Bob Kutchko, Socialist Workers Party, National Association of Letter Carriers Local 30. Sun., Jan. 24, 8 p.m. 4715A Troost. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

#### St. Louis

**The Legacy of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.: The Struggle for Black Rights Today.** Film: *Martin Luther King Jr., The Assassination Years*. Speaker: John Hawkins, National Committee, Socialist Workers Party, member of National Black Independent Political Party. Sat., Jan. 23, 7:30 p.m. 6223 Delmar Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

### NEW YORK

#### Brooklyn

**Marxism and Christianity: Are They Compatible?** Speakers: Pierre Douchemin, lay priest from Liberation Theology Movement; José Pérez, editor, *Perspectiva Mundial*; others. Sat., Jan. 23, 8 p.m. 335 Atlantic Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 852-7922.

**Labor Speakout on El Salvador.** Speakers: Dave Dyson, Labor Committee on Democracy and Human Rights; William Henning, Communications Workers of America; representative of Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador; representative of COP-RASAL. Fri., Jan. 29, 7:30 p.m. 335 Atlantic Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 852-7992.

#### Manhattan

**The Freedom Struggle in Guatemala.** Speakers: Bob Hillyard, National Lawyers Guild; representative of Committee in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala; representative of Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Jan. 29, 7:30 p.m. 108 E. 16th St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

**Lecciones de la lucha obrera polaca.** Orador: Martín Koppel, redactor de *Perspectiva Mundial*, visitó a Polonia en 1981 (English translation available). Fri., Feb. 5, 7:30 p.m. 108 E. 16th St. 2° piso. Donación: \$2. Ausp: Foro de Perspectiva Mundial. Para mayor información, llame al (212) 260-6400.

**International Day of Solidarity with the People of El Salvador.** Speakers: Enio Carrión, chair of Hispanic Labor Committee, AFL-CIO; Rubén Zamora, Political Diplomatic Commission of the Democratic Revolutionary Front of El Salvador; Ted Weiss, N.Y. congressman. Fri., Jan. 22, 7:30 p.m. 123 W. 43rd St. (Town Hall). Donation: \$3. Ausp: Emergency Campaign Against U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean. For more information call (212) 260-8244.

**Dance to Celebrate International Day of Solidarity with the People of El Salvador.** Performing will be the "Orquesta Exitó" and singer-composer Armando Martínez. Sat., Jan. 23, 9 p.m. 104 W. 14th St. (Casa de las Américas). Donation: \$5. Ausp: Casa El Salvador.

**Political Repression and Recent Executive Order on the CIA and Pending Repressive Legislation.** Speakers: Michael Ratner, Committee for Constitutional

Rights, National Lawyers Guild; Bill Schapp, *Covert Action Information Bulletin*. Fri., Jan. 31, 7:30 p.m. 134 W. 4th St. Ausp: New York Mobilization for Survival and Washington Square Church. For more information call (212) 673-1808.

### OHIO

#### Cincinnati

**Reds: John Reed and the Early American Communists.** Speaker: Morris Starsky, Socialist Workers Party. Film: excerpts from *Ten Days that Shook the World*. Sat., Jan. 23, 7:30 p.m. 2531 Gilbert Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

#### Cleveland

**Solidarity with Solidarnosc: The Struggle for Socialism in Poland.** Speakers: Jim Miller, Cleveland New American Movement; Bob Rowand, United Steelworkers Local 1179, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., Jan. 23, 7 p.m. 2230 Superior. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

### OREGON

#### Portland

**Workers' Answer to Reagan's State of the Union Address.** Speakers: Mike Maloney, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Jan. 24, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 322-7225.

### VIRGINIA

#### Newport News

**Truth About Libya.** Speakers: Craig McKissic, Socialist Workers Party; Ali Abed, Palestinian. Sat., Jan. 23, 7:30 p.m. 111 28th St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

**Defend Polish Workers!** Speaker: Martin Koppel, toured Poland as staff writer for *Perspectiva Mundial*, National Committee, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Jan. 30, 7:30 p.m. 111 28th St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Tidewater Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

### WISCONSIN

#### Milwaukee

**Protest Reaganism: Hear the Socialist Alternative on How to Fight Racist Police Terror in Milwaukee.** Speakers: Peter Seidman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Wisconsin governor; Cheryll Hidalgo, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 5th District. Sat., Feb. 6. Wine and cheese reception 7 p.m. Rally 8 p.m. 4707 W. Lisbon. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1982 Campaign Committee. For more information call: (414) 445-2076 or 342-0696.

## Defend women's right to abortion

### MARYLAND

#### Baltimore

**Abortion Rights: Central target of Reagan's War on Women.** A panel discussion. Sun., Jan. 24, 8 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

### MISSOURI

#### St. Louis

**Defend the Right to Abortion: How to Fight Back.** Speakers: Darlene Toledo, member Metro National Organization for Women; Chris Mann, Socialist Workers Party; representative of Reproductive Health Services; others. Sun., Jan. 31, 7:30 p.m. 6223 Delmar Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

### NEW JERSEY

#### Newark

**Abortion Rights Under Attack — How Do We Fight Back?** Speakers: Charlene Adamson, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., Jan. 23, 7:30 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

### NEW YORK

#### Manhattan

**Abortion Rights in the Eighties.** Speakers: representatives from Planned Parenthood of N.Y.; Black United Front; Young Socialist Alliance; Committee for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse. Sat., Jan. 23, 7:30 p.m. 108 E. 16th St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

### NORTH CAROLINA

#### Winston-Salem

**Defend the Right to Abortion.** Speakers to be announced. Sat., Jan. 23, 7:30 p.m. 216 E. 6th St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

### WISCONSIN

#### Milwaukee

**The Fight for Women's Rights in the Eighties.** Speaker: Margo Storsteen, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor of Wisconsin and member of Die Sinkers Union. Film: *How We Got the Vote*. Sat., Jan. 30, 7 p.m. 4707 W. Lisbon. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

## Profit was real killer in tragedy

### Continued from Page 20

*Post*, is trying to pit area residents against the 7,000 Metro workers, so it can carry out takebacks against us. It is more important to the WMATA to use this opportunity to promote its plan to drive down wages and conditions, than to look into the questions that could prevent the recurrence of accidents like this one.

### Concern for profits, not lives

The tragedies of January 13 could have been avoided if the airlines, WMATA, and Congress were as concerned for human life as they are for profits. These kinds of tragedies could be avoided in the future if the investigations were

conducted without concern for profits, instead of simply trying to find some individual worker to blame.

But this won't happen. Because the investigating bodies are arms of the government, whose role is to protect the profits of the companies. So the true cause — the drive for profits that operates unsafe airports at overcapacity, that lets equipment run to disrepair, that fires the most qualified people from central jobs — will be glossed over.

And this will bring on more tragedies.

*Andrea González is a Metro laborer in general maintenance and a member of Local 689 of the Amalgamated Transit Union.*



# ERA: Democrats, Republicans move in for the kill

The new year has already brought a series of setbacks in the fight for women's rights, centered on the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA).

The latest moves actually began at the end of last year — December 23.

That's when Federal District Judge Callister in Idaho, a leader of the Mormon Church, ruled that Congress's three-year extension of the ERA ratifica-



## WOMEN IN REVOLT Margaret Jayko

tion deadline was unconstitutional. He also ruled that states have the right to rescind previous ratification votes.

This decision says, in essence, that the ERA actually died in March 1979 with only thirty of the necessary thirty-eight states having ratified it.

The National Organization for Women (NOW) was a co-defendant in the Idaho case, along with the federal government. NOW filed a brief with the Supreme Court on January 8, requesting a quick reversal of the lower court's decision.

NOW argued that time was of the essence in this case, given that the deadline for ratification is less than six months away. And in many unratified states, the legislatures will actually end their sessions way before the June 30 deadline.

As Ruth Hinerfeld, president of the League of Women Voters pointed out, "legislators who are opposed to ERA will seize upon this decision as grounds

for inaction."

How has the federal government responded to all this?

The Justice Department announced January 4 that it would appeal the ruling to the Supreme Court, but was "working out" what the appeal would say.

How did it "work out?"

The next day, under the cover of protests against the appeal from leading anti-ERA figures like Phyllis Schlafly and Jerry Falwell, the Justice Department released an extremely confusing statement that made one thing clear, "The Department will oppose NOW's effort to expedite the appeal, since the entire matter may be rendered moot in the months ahead."

In plain English, leave the Idaho decision stand until it's too late!

But this stance apparently caused them some headaches.

As the January 15 *New York Times* put it, "On the one hand, President Reagan and many of his long-time supporters oppose the proposed amendment and do not want to do anything to ease its ratification. On the other hand, last month's ruling . . . was so sweeping as to appear inconsistent with the Administration's frequent call for restraint by Federal judges in decisions that impinge on social policy."

In other words, Callister's move was too crude for even Reagan to get away with.

So, January 14 the Justice Department told the Supreme Court that it should consider immediately overturning the ruling.

But whatever they decide, the desired damage has already been done. The Justice Department has clearly placed itself on the side of opponents of women's rights.

On top of this, January 13 the Oklahoma Senate

voted down the ERA.

On the same day, the Democrats in the Illinois Legislature decided not to press for a vote on changing the rule that constitutional amendments must be ratified by a three-fifths, not simple, majority. This rule has been used to prevent Illinois from becoming a ratified state for years.

After Callister's ruling, NOW president Eleanor Smeal declared that "the will of the people is being totally stepped on by a single federal judge."

But the real opponents of the people's will, the ones who call the shots, sit in Washington, Wall Street, and the Pentagon. And it's they who backed up Callister by using their Justice Department to push forward the charge against women's rights.

The rulers have used their two parties — the Democrats and Republicans — to kill the ERA in state after state, year after year.

People like Callister and the "Moral Majority" are encouraged by what they see and hear from these capitalist politicians.

And those who run this country decided long before December 23 that they didn't want the ERA. Passage of the ERA would go against the grain of their entire drive to push back the rights and living standards of working people and the oppressed at home and abroad.

Unfortunately, these moves are made easier by the strategy of the NOW and union leaderships of supporting those very same politicians.

These latest government attacks should be further signals to the women's movement, as well as unions and Black activists, that we urgently need to reassess the strategy of relying on the Democrats and Republicans to give us our rights. Instead we must unite in struggling to defend ourselves.

## AT&T deal a threat to communications workers

BY ROBERT BRUNEAU  
AND JAN GANGLE

SAN FRANCISCO — The restructuring of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company (AT&T) agreed to by the company and the Justice Department represents a threat to communica-

will undermine unified national contract terms for 750,000 members of the Communications Workers of America. Instead of dealing with a single employer when the contract expires in August 1983, the union will have to bargain with twenty-two separate companies, plus AT&T and Western Electric. "It is at least possible that some of 22 separate operating companies — each bent on keeping labor costs down — might balk at accepting national wage and benefit terms," *Business Week* noted in its January 25 edition. Employee pension funds are also threatened. According to the January 11 *Wall Street Journal*, "Phone company employee pension funds may be split into several less secure separate funds."

The government claims that the AT&T restructuring will bring about increased competition, which will ultimately benefit phone users. The reality is just the opposite. Initial responses from local operating companies like New York Telephone, Southern Bell, and South Central Bell indicate that local basic phone service charges will at

least double over the next five years as the local companies move to maximize profits.

Also, to avoid paying equipment-use charges to AT&T, the local phone companies may place back in service old, inefficient equipment. Along with higher

phone bills will come poorer local service.

Robert Bruneau and Jan Gangle are members of Communications Workers of America Local 9490 at Western Electric in San Francisco



## UNION TALK

tions workers and telephone users around the country.

Officially, the giant monopoly is telling its employees not to worry. Workers will be able to "pursue their jobs with renewed sense of purpose," and "plan and manage their lives without worrying about their jobs." That is what Pacific Telephone told AT&T workers on January 8. But this is hollow assurance for the 1,200 workers at AT&T's Western Electric plant in Indiana who received layoff notices the same day the settlement was announced.

The AT&T-government agreement

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## Defend all women's right to abortion!

On January 22, 1973, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the laws outlawing abortion.

This was a tremendous victory for women and all working people. One that has saved the lives of thousands of women.

Ever since the decision, foes of women's rights have been trying to overturn it. And they've made considerable headway.

From cutting off federal funds to restricting the rights of teenagers, the ruling class has succeeded in making the "right" to abortion very difficult to exercise for millions of women, especially Blacks, Latinas, and youth.

This year, the annual January 22 marches in Washington, D.C., and other cities were planned by opponents of abortion rights, demanding that abortion be made illegal altogether.

The most powerful enemies of reproductive rights are the Democratic and Republican parties, who use their governmental power to go after women with a vengeance.

It's the ruling class's campaign against abortion rights that eggs on and emboldens the misnamed "right-to-life" groups.

The latest attack came at President Reagan's January 19 news conference. A reporter questioned him about Congress's cutoff of federal funds for abortions, as well as the attempts to ban all abortions.

Warmonger Reagan had the nerve to reply, "I have been one who believes that abortion is the taking of a human life. . . ."

And Democratic Governor Forrest James of Alabama recently issued an anti-abortion proclamation declaring January 22 "Respect for Life Day."

Why this bitter and determined opposition by the big businessmen and bankers who run this country to the simple democratic right of women to control whether and when to have children?

Because it strikes right at the heart of the myth upon which all of women's oppression is constructed — "Biology is woman's destiny."

The rulers know that women controlling their own bodies is the first step toward women controlling their own lives.

And this is intolerable to a class whose system is in crisis and who must try to solve this crisis by cutting back the rights and lives of working people everywhere.

With each new assault on the right to choose, the official leaders of the women's rights movement have retreated, making it that much easier for the reactionaries to advance.

They've sacrificed abortion rights of the most vulnerable women to their alliance with the fake friends of women in the Democratic and Republican parties — the very same parties that are leading the charge against women's equality!

But these attacks have generated big discussions and rethinking among many women's rights fighters about how to defend abortion rights and how to build a movement powerful enough to advance the interests of women.

Around January 22, some of these women are participating in the forums, picket lines, news conferences, and other activities protesting the attacks on abortion rights. And they are discussing what to do next.

Under the hammerblows of the rulers' offensive, these women have some powerful allies stepping forward.

On September 19, Solidarity Day, the half a million working people who marched in Washington, D.C., made clear their support for women's rights.

It was a militant, striking air traffic controller, Steve Wallaert, who got one of the biggest ovations that day when he attacked government moves to outlaw abortion.

Recognizing that it's Black women who do the most dying when abortion is illegal, the National Black Independent Political Party included a strong defense of abortion rights in its anticapitalist program.

It's this kind of alliance, a fighting women's movement, working hand-in-hand with a militant labor movement and Black movement, that is needed, not only to beat back the bipartisan attacks on women, but the offensive against all victims of this system.

The January 22 activities protesting the attacks on women's rights are a good place to begin discussing how to build such a movement.

## The employers' motto: 'A fair day's wages for a fair day's work'

In the summer of 1881, the British paper *The Labour Standard* ran editorials almost every week explaining capitalist economics and putting forward a working class perspective.

They were written by Frederick Engels. The twelve articles, each only three or four pages long, are collected in a seventy-five cent pamphlet, *The Wages System*. It is available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014 or from the bookstores in the directory on page 17.

Reading the articles, you are almost startled at how similar the conditions and issues they take up are to the situation today.

Below are some excerpts from the first article in *The Wages System* called, "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work." It appeared May 7, 1881.

A fair day's work is that length of working day and that intensity of actual work which expends one day's full working power of the workman without encroaching upon his capacity for the same amount of work for the next and following days.

The translation, then, may be thus described — the workman gives to the Capitalist his full day's work-

## OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

ing power; that is, so much of it as he can give without rendering impossible the continuous repetition of the transaction. In exchange he receives just as much, and no more, of the necessities of life as is required to keep up the repetition of the same bargain every day. The workman gives as much, the Capitalist gives as little, as the nature of the bargain will admit. This is a very peculiar sort of fairness.

But let us look a little deeper into the matter. As, according to political economists, wages and working days are fixed by competition, fairness seems to require that both sides should have the same fair start on equal terms. But that is not the case. The Capitalist, if he cannot agree with the Labourer, can afford to wait, and live upon his capital. The workman cannot. He has but wages to live upon, and must therefore take work when, where, and at what terms he can get it. The workman has no fair start. He is fearfully handicapped by hunger. Yet, according to the political economy of the Capitalist class, that is the very pink of fairness.

But this is a mere trifle. The application of mechanical power and machinery to new trades, and the extension and improvements of machinery in trades already subjected to it, keep turning out of work more and more "hands;" and they do so at a far quicker rate than that at which these superseded "hands" can be absorbed by, and find employment in, the manufactures of the country.

These superseded "hands" form a real industrial army of reserve for the use of Capital. If trade is bad they may starve, beg, steal, or go to the workhouse; if trade is good they are ready at hand to expand production; and until the very last man, woman, or child of this army of reserve shall have found work — which happens in times of frantic over-production alone — until then will its competition keep down wages, and by its existence alone strengthen the power of Capital. Labour is not only handicapped, it has to drag a cannon-ball riveted to its foot. Yet that is fair according to Capitalist political economy.

But let us inquire out of what fund does Capital pay these very fair wages? Out of capital, of course. But capital produces no value. Labour is, besides the earth, the only source of wealth; capital itself is nothing but the stored-up produce of labour. So that the wages of Labour are paid out of labour, and the working man is paid out of his own produce. According to what we may call common fairness, the wages of the labourer ought to consist in the produce of his labour. But that would not be fair according to political economy. On the contrary, the produce of the workman's labour goes to the capitalist, and the workman gets out of it no more than the bare necessities of life. And thus the end of this uncommonly "fair" race of competition is that the produce of the labour of those who do work, gets unavoidably accumulated in the hands of those who do not work, and becomes in their hands the most powerful means to enslave the very men who produced it.

Let, then, the old motto [a fair day's wages for a fair day's work] be buried forever and replaced by another:

POSSESSION OF THE MEANS OF WORK — RAW MATERIAL, FACTORIES, MACHINERY — BY THE WORKING PEOPLE THEMSELVES.

## Worst recession since 1930s: what to do

Continued from Page 1

blackmail workers into accepting wage cuts and more dangerous working conditions.

They are on a drive to pit workers against each other and demoralize them. They are challenging basic democratic rights to organize and speak out. They are attempting to severely damage the unions in order to make it more difficult for workers to fight back.

The recession has also hit farmers hard. Their buying power is the lowest since the 1930s. They are caught in a triple squeeze: the low prices food monopolies pay them for their produce; high prices for land, machinery, fertilizer, and fuel; and skyrocketing interest payments for bank loans.

What does President Reagan propose doing about this economic disaster and its momentous human consequences?

Hard work and charity.

That's what he told a group of businessmen and high society people in New York January 14. He said he favored less government regulation and more "market incentives and philanthropy" to help the poor.

"If our incentives motivate people to work just thirty minutes more," he exhorted, "the gross national product will grow by \$25 billion." He called on his listeners to display a "spirit of shared sacrifice" in funding private substitutes for government-financed social programs.

Put simply, those who are working should work harder. And those out of work should fend for themselves, begging from charities and lining up at soup kitchens.

And to give a bipartisan stamp to this proposal, New York's Democratic Governor Hugh Carey was on hand to join in the applause.

What can be done?

The solutions are actually quite simple and could be implemented very quickly:

1) A crash public works program could be launched. Millions of workers could be put to work building low-rent public housing, hospitals, schools, parks, and mass transportation.

Special priority should be given to projects that would help to eliminate the especially miserable conditions that exist in Black and Latino communities.

The funds for such socially useful and badly needed projects are available. But it would mean transferring billions of dollars, now being spent for military purposes, to public works.

It would also mean imposing a stiff tax on the profits of big business. This would entail closing all the

loopholes through which most employers evade paying taxes. This would require encouraging the unions to establish watch-dog committees and giving them the authority to make sure that the industrial and banking giants don't sneak out of paying their taxes.

2) Instead of making workers work harder as Reagan proposes, the work week should be shortened. This would then make it possible to spread the available work to more workers. Of course, there should be no cut in pay.

Preferential consideration should be given to hiring and upgrading Blacks, Latinos, and women, who have been the hardest hit by the layoffs; and who, for years, have been excluded from many jobs.

3) The 27 percent of the country's industrial capacity now laying idle should be brought back into operation. If the employers refuse to do this, the government should take over the unused plants and machinery and begin operating them.

Many Democrats are criticizing the way Reagan is handling the recession. But their jabs are only intended to curry favor with voters so they can get elected this fall. They offer no fundamentally different proposals than the administration; nor did they when their man, James Carter was in office.

The reason that neither the Democrats or Republicans in Washington propose carrying out the simple measures that could end the crisis, is because to do so would conflict with the profit interests of big business. They operate from the standpoint that what's good for big business is good for the country.

But if this government of big businessmen, bankers, and landlords won't carry out these measures, it should be replaced. Working people need their own government, a government that will defend their interests and those of all oppressed and exploited people.

The struggle for such a government is of the utmost importance. It will be a difficult one, but a necessary one. To carry through this fight workers will need a political party, their own party that can challenge the political monopoly of the employers.

In the unions, a ready-made organizational apparatus — offices, newspapers, structure, and experience — exists that could help lay the basis for easily launching this party. A union-based, independent labor party could be launched now.

Any union local in the country could help get the process going by running a campaign for congress, senator, or governor in the 1982 elections. Such an initiative would set a powerful example and give a big boost to labor taking this important step.



# 'Lumps of ice growing on the living room wall'

As cold as a landlord's heart.

In New York, that old saying applies as much when the city is the landlord as it does with the ordinary breed.

According to city law, it's a punishable offense not to provide proper heat. But that's a joke. During a single day of the cold wave, the city received more than 10,000 complaints of no heat.

Such massive lawbreaking could only occur because the law is not enforced. In fact, the city itself doesn't obey the heat law.

The January 12 *New York Times* did several human interest stories on people coping without heat. In

And the reporter found the Binas family cheerful even though using the oven for heat did not prevent their two little daughters from becoming ill.

And, advises the *Times*, the Santanas were cheerful even though they were using a small electric heater and were fearful it would run the bill up so high they wouldn't be able to pay and would get cut off.

The absence of heat in this particular building is not the work of some supergreedy landlord. Here the city is the landlord.

The last owner had apparently squeezed every last drop of profit out of the building and let the city take it.

Slumlords are often hard to find. One seeming advantage of having the city as landlord is that you at least have a number to call. Except complaining doesn't seem to help much.

Rose Binas told the *Times*, "I call and they tell me the order for the oil has already been put in. Then I call again and they tell me they will put in the order for the oil."

"I told them I have children and I pay \$250 a month and I should have heat."

"They told me if I don't like it, I should move."

Another *Times* reporter ventured up to Harlem to visit a heatless apartment.

For Simeon and Martha Tinoye and their three children, the cold wave was no special deal. They haven't had any heat in their apartment for three years.

The *Times* said "the ice is thick on the windows of

the apartment" and what little heat there is comes from the gas stove.

The reporter was shown a bedroom seven by nine feet. On the coldest nights, Mrs. Tinoye said, "We sleep there, all five of us together, to keep warm."

The reporter was impressed by their capacity for survival, consisting mainly of spending a minimum of time at home.

"The kids keep warm at school or at friends' houses," Mrs. Tinoye explained, "and I take a course in typing."

Mr. Tinoye attends a pharmacy college during the day and drives a cab at night.

Their current landlord? The city of New York.

The Tinoyes have been withholding their \$250-a-month rent, and a group of law students are trying to fight their case against the city.

A municipal spokesperson said the city started work last spring to restore heat, "but it's a long process."

For sure. Why would it be otherwise when city government is operated by callous bureaucrats totally servile to the money interests that run the city and, by the same token, icily indifferent to the plight of working people.

They have infested the city halls of America far too long. They need to be cleaned out and replaced by a democratic, crusading political movement of working people. For openers, we'd get some heat.

— Harry Ring

## AS I SEE IT

one Brooklyn apartment, the paper reported, the tenants had cold radiators for four days, during the worst of the cold seige.

Yet, the reporter found, the three families visited "are cheerful, and each has achieved at least one cozy room."

The Fantauzzi family was pronounced cheerful despite the fact that a big pot of water simmering on the stove did not prevent "lumps of ice growing on the living room wall."

## LETTERS

### Guardian Angels

Nelson González's report and analysis of the Guardian Angels (January 1 issue) was very timely, educational, and politically on target.

The stress on "Law and Order" and the emergence today of what González correctly characterizes as "frustrated layers of young people . . . manipulated by demagogues" and joining "incipient right-wing, vigilante formations under the control of the police agencies," reminds me of similar concerns during the 1930s.

At that time, one such example of this phenomenon was how the bosses of Jersey City, New Jersey, dealt with attempts to organize unions there. The then Mayor ("I am the law") Hague encouraged the formation of organizations that emerged as anti-union vigilante groups.

On two occasions I (along with many others) was hurled down the Hudson Tube (now Path) steps and warned to "go back to Russia" after demonstrating in favor of a union organizing drive in 1937.

Paul Montauk  
Oakland, California

### Crime

I believe that your January 1 issue's article on the Guardian Angels displays an insensitivity to the very real suffering caused to poor and working people by violent street criminals. This is especially clear in light of the recent killings of a Black member of the Angels by a Newark, New Jersey, policeman.

Although the article describes the Angels as a "police-controlled adjunct" of the ruling class, they have instead not hesitated to expose the racism in the Newark police and organize action against it.

Further, the article distorts the facts, for instance, by saying Mayor Koch "warmed up to the group." In fact, the mayor and police officials in New York have been deeply hostile to the Angels and help them only because of their overwhelming popularity.

Your article urges youth to "fight the real criminals," by becoming active against the draft, etc. As necessary as those move-

ments are, this implies that street violence is not "real."

I urge you instead to confront crime as an issue directly. What is not helpful is to duck the issue, or to attack kids like the Angels who are trying to do something about it.

S.B.  
Brooklyn, New York

### Help to Nicaragua

Earlier this month I participated along with thirty other members of Local 13 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union in Los Angeles Harbor, and some members of Fishermen and Allied Workers Union Local 33, who volunteered a day's labor without pay.

We loaded enough building materials aboard the banana ship *Tropical Sea* to make a hundred houses for needy people in Nicaragua. A Christian group, Gospel Outreach, from Eureka, California, had raised the money for the materials.

I had visited Nicaragua last November on the *Militant/Perspectiva Mundial* tour. My fellow workers were interested to know what I saw there. When I asked them why they donated their labor on this occasion, they said they just wanted to help the people of Nicaragua.

Mike Downs  
Los Angeles, California

### Indigenous people

I would like to discuss Nicaragua. I have been a reader of the *Militant* and *Intercontinental Press* for a few years now.

In particular, I am concerned about Indian people's struggles throughout this hemisphere. It is an interesting, and very important, relationship that is now forming between indigenous people and a revolutionary movement.

Let us look at revolutionary Nicaragua. The Indian people in the Atlantic Coast region, called "La Moskitia" by the people there, struggled also against Somoza. Well, they looked forward to relating with the new government.

It is obvious that relations between the national government and the Indian people are very

strained, there being a military presence in some Indian communities. This "strained" relationship did not just start up. The government has, it seems, increasingly isolated this group of people, from insisting on doing a Spanish literacy campaign first (in the Indian community), to calling Indian people "primitive."

I think you should discuss this and other native struggles. I very rarely see an article about Indian peoples in the *Militant*.  
Mark Heinecamp  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

### Defense of science

Hats off to Cliff Conner for picking up the gauntlet cast at the feet of the scientific community by mystics emboldened by the cowardice and impotence of the bourgeois intelligentsia.

His "Science and Superstition" (*ISR* December 1981) is an insightful defense of science employing the only weapon adequate to the task: dialectical materialism, which, tragically, is unknown to most scientists.

To the extent that they rely upon formal logic, both mechanical materialists and mystics are confined to a conceptual framework of finite, exclusionary categories.

Modern physics provides the empirical, experimental proof of the dialectical concept of unity and identity of opposites. Understanding thus gained is a safeguard against conceiving dialectics in a mechanical way, the sign of ultimate failure to transcend formal logic. The closer we come to conceiving reality from the perspective of the unity of a self-evolving Cosmos, the more profoundly dialectical our consciousness. Forward toward the merger of physics and conscious dialectics, the consequence of socialist revolution!  
Russell Pelle  
Houston, Texas

### Powerful film

Maybe Harry Ring's review of *Reds* in the January 1 *Militant* should have been two pages rather than one. The review, to put it mildly, does not quite capture the brilliance of the film.

This is a powerful film, a film



that takes the romance of Louise Bryant and John Reed and delivers a revolutionary message.

It is the Russian revolution that changed and transformed the lives of Bryant and Reed, brilliantly portrayed by Diane Keaton and Warren Beatty.

Among vanguard layers of workers and youth, the film should spark or renew interest in the Russian revolution.

Derrick Morrison  
New Orleans, Louisiana

### Cultural event

I thought your review of *Reds* was one of the best film reviews the *Militant* has ever printed. *Reds* is important enough a cultural event for you to have devoted an entire page to it. And it was surprisingly good enough, despite its weaknesses, to merit a prompt and thorough treatment.

I imagine *Militant* readers are finding that their co-workers who saw the film are finding that *Reds* makes revolutionary socialism look more attractive. I have. It even helps in discussions about Poland.

While I'm at it, I'd like to say "well done" for Nelson Blackstock's article on "Villa Sin Miedo" (November 20 *Militant*). It had that crucial human interest aspect — the setting of a scene, description of character, creation of mood — that makes the paper more readable.

Mark Schneider  
Somerville, Massachusetts

### Alternative

I am sort of unclear how to respond to the re-opening of contracts by the United Auto Workers and International Brotherhood of Teamsters. That is, I can't offer a concrete alternative to my co-workers (I'm in the United Transportation Union) that sounds feasible.

I know you mention the alternative as parts of articles, but right now I think you should have a series of articles on how workers in the UAW, or steel, or Teamsters should respond to this attack.

Maybe you'd want this series as part of your spring sales campaign. A series is important because it will obviously reach more worker militants. (And maybe you could consider making a pamphlet out of it.)

Stan Smith  
Chicago, Illinois

The 'Militant' special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.



## D.C. tragedies: profit system was the real killer

### Air crash, train derailment could have been avoided

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

WASHINGTON — Wednesday, January 13, was a terrible day. It was cold and snowing, traffic was snarled, buses and trains were running late. Then, that afternoon, tragedy struck.

An Air Florida Boeing 737, bound for Tampa out of National Airport, crashed into the 14th Street Bridge, then plunged into the icy Potomac River. Seventy-one passengers and crew members were killed, as were four motorists on the bridge.

Shortly afterward, a subway train, overcrowded with government workers who were out early because of the weather, derailed. Three passengers were killed and twenty-two others injured.

In the latter case, a switch shifted a train to the wrong track. When the switch was reset and the train backed up to get on the right track, its front

wheels remained on the wrong track. It derailed and was crushed against a concrete divider.

The two accidents, and the official response to them, show clearly that to the ruling rich life is cheap.

Most residents of the Washington area knew the air crash was bound to happen. There have been continuous complaints that National Airport is too congested, its runways too short for today's jumbo jets, and its location too close to densely populated areas.

National Airport is federally owned and operated. Congress, which is supposed to regulate traffic there, has been called on time and again to restrict traffic in and out. But Congress has refused to act.

The airlines operating out of National rake in big profits from flights there because of its convenience. By mass trans-

it, it is only a few minutes from downtown Washington. The airlines have lobbied to maintain high traffic levels.

Initial reports point to weather as a key factor in the accident. The wings of the plane reportedly kept icing up as the pilot waited about forty-five minutes for clearance. This may be true.

But the bigger question is why did they continue flights in such weather, at an airport that has such short runways, where it is difficult if not impossible to abort flights once you begin takeoff.

According to the January 15 *Washington Post*, one survivor said the pilot was trying to abort the flight when the plane crashed. An important fact in this accident is that the total distance from the beginning of the runway to the 14th Street Bridge is the same as the length of the runway at nearby Dulles Airport. In other words, if the plane had used Dulles, the flight could have been aborted with no fatalities.

But Dulles is further away from D.C., and has no mass transit running to it. So it has less traffic than National, and is less profitable to the airlines — although it is safer.

Air Florida, which operated the flight, is already pleading its case: they were not responsible, the plane was in perfect mechanical order. It may well have been. But why were they allowing flights at all in such weather, at such an airport?

#### Whitewash blames 'human error'

Indications in the press point to a whitewash of these questions in favor of the airlines' favorite explanation: human error. In this case, they say, it was the error of the pilot, a victim of the crash who can't answer any questions.

The only workers the airlines and the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) aren't looking to blame are the fired air controllers. In fact, almost as the plane was going down in the Potomac, the FAA was announcing that President Reagan's decision to fire the nation's qualified controllers was not a factor in this accident.

And it may not have been a factor in

this case. But the same government that would fire 12,000 people simply for fighting for decent conditions would, only logically, knowingly operate an unsafe airport.

#### Same logic for subway derailment

In the subway derailment, the second accident on January 13, the same logic was in operation. And the same logic was used to explain it away.

The initial response of the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority (WMATA) was that a switch malfunctioned. But after saying this, WMATA realized that this kind of explanation could raise embarrassing questions:

Are the switches checked periodically? What about other equipment, such as signals? Are they checked?

But if these questions were raised it could become public knowledge that, just four months ago, a track laborer was hit by a train and critically injured because Metro neglected to inform the tower that he would be there working.

So the day after the accident, WMATA and the National Transportation Safety Board decided on human error as the principle cause of the accident. An investigating committee was set up "to find possible mistakes by the supervisor, the operator, or other Metro employees."

There will be no investigation of the equipment, the procedure used to set a switch, the training to do the job, or the number of people needed to change the switch and move the train.

The focus of this investigation doesn't surprise Metro workers. Although our contract is more than a year away, at the end of 1981 the general manager of WMATA announced that our cost-of-living allowance was too high, and that Metro could not afford it any longer.

With the first weekend of the new year, the *Washington Post* opened its campaign against Metro workers. In a series of articles, it blamed the high Metro fares on the members of the Amalgamated Transit Union.

The WMATA, with the help of the  
**Continued on Page 16**



Rescue worker pulls passenger on doomed jetliner from Potomac River.

## Coverup continues in slaying of Black athlete

BY DERRICK ADAMS

LOS ANGELES — District Attorney John Van de Kamp announced here January 14 that his office would not file criminal charges against any member of the Signal Hill Police Department in connection with the jailhouse death of Black athlete Ron Settles.

Settles, a star football player at Long Beach State University, was pulled over for speeding by Signal Hill police last June 2. Three hours later, he was found bruised and dead in a Signal Hill jail cell.

Police claim Settles hung himself with a mattress cover in his cell. A jury at the Los Angeles County coroner's inquest, however, ruled he died "at the hands of another, other than by accident."

During its investigation, the coroner's office "lost" Settles's clothes and other evidence, and failed to take x-rays of his body. The latter could have determined whether Settles suffered skull or bone injuries during what Signal Hill police

admit was a jailhouse beating.

Police also admit refusing Settles's request to make a phone call after his arrest.

All the officers involved in the Settles death pleaded the Fifth Amendment before the coroner's jury.

As a result of many demonstrations — some as large as 5,000 — demanding justice for Settles, previously unknown facts have been unearthed that have a bearing on the case.

The *Los Angeles Times* reported that forty-two formal complaints of brutality or false arrest by Signal Hill police have been filed in the last thirteen years. Jerry Lee Brown, the officer who arrested Settles, previously was dismissed by the Los Angeles Police Department for alleged brutality.

Misdemeanor and felony brutality charges were recently filed against one former and three current Signal Hill cops in unrelated cases.

According to the *Times*, the district attorney's Special Investigation Div-

ision (SID), in charge of Settles's and other police brutality cases, "has one of the lowest prosecution records in District Attorney John Van de Kamp's entire agency."

Of the 355 shootings by police that the SID investigated in the last three years, only one resulted in a prosecution. In the same period, charges were filed in nine police brutality incidents not involving shootings. To date, there have been no convictions in any of these cases.

Part of the district attorney's cover-up of the Settles case was the belated "discovery" of minute traces of the drug PCP in Settles's stomach by University of Southern California Medical Center professors. Two previous autopsies had failed to reveal any trace of the drug.

Slandering Settles as under the influence of drugs at the time of his arrest has thus become the latest rationale for the district attorney's continued insistence on suicide as a possible cause of death.

Nevertheless, Van de Kamp's own investigation was forced to acknowledge "very serious problems" in the Signal Hill Police Department, including verbal attacks, abuse of suspects, and questionable use of force.

Settles's parents have announced they will continue to press their \$62 million civil lawsuit, filed last month in a U.S. District Court. The suit charges the Signal Hill Police with civil rights violations and wrongful death.

Support for that suit came from independent candidate for California governor Mel Mason, who said, "The handling of the case by the D.A. points clearly to the true role of the police in the Black community, which is to hold it subject via terror and murder."

Calling the Settles case "an obvious coverup," Mason, a city councilman in Seaside, blasted the role of "Black Democratic elected officials like Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, who support these kinds of actions against their own people."